

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

— AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL —

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00

SINGLE COPIES, 60 CENTS

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

An International Journal

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00

SINGLE COPIES, 60¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June, 1938

SOCIAL GROUP WORK AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

BESSIE AVERNE McCLENAHAN

The University of Southern California

At the present time, group workers are becoming definitely aware of themselves as a body of people with certain interests in common and are striving to establish their professional status. In this effort, a pattern had been previously set by the more group-conscious social case workers and now group workers are undertaking to arrive at a definition of their professional field, its objectives or goals, and its peculiar techniques.¹ There is considerable disagreement among them, as might be expected, since their approaches to their respective tasks vary with the history of the agency with which they are affiliated and with their individual conceptions of their functions.

It was only a few years ago that group workers saw their field as activities with numbers of people, either large or small groups, in contrast with the field of social case workers who served people in trouble, one at a time, either one person or one family. The group work activities included: (1) classes or interest groups; (2) projects, specific undertakings limited in scope and completion time; (3) mass activities like a pageant, a movie show, a

¹ See "Developing a Better Understanding between Social Group Workers and Social Case Workers," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20:50-57, by Bessie A. McClenahan.

block party; and (4) club work, with emphasis upon the development of group feeling. In each of these types, the group worker envisaged his goals as the promotion of voluntary participation as a means of individual social adjustment. There was a line of demarcation between club workers or organized group workers and playground workers, on the basis that the latter tended to stress the activity and the number participating, while the former stressed the more intimate relationship between leader and members and a consequent group feeling and sense of responsibility for the group.

Today, representatives of playgrounds, recreation centers, social settlements, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Camp Fire Girls, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts are combining to define social group work as a process. Sometimes the process is said to be educational, or social, or both. At this point, the progressive educator is brought into the picture and his technique of training, of delegated responsibility, of individualization of pupil, and of activities designed to promote group unity are recognized as tools also of the group worker. On the other hand, some of the discussants believe that group work is demonstrated only in the social group process, that is, when a group consciousness is evident as the result of a shared activity. In this connection, socialization of personality is regarded as a correlative goal.² Dr. W. I. Newstetter of Western Reserve University has recently defined group work as follows:

² Let us attempt to follow a professional group worker, that is, a paid leader, through some of his duties or at least some of the tasks he performs. He may speak before a women's club or a men's service club to enlist co-operation and financial support of a group work program; he may speak to boys or girls en masse or individually to interest them in joining a group; he may promote and conduct (lead or counsel) programs of a great variety suited to any discovered interest; he may need to comb the community to find specialists who will serve as resource people as, for example, a musician to teach music in some form or to speak on music appreciation, an artist to conduct a class in painting or to advise club members on standards of design and color combinations, or a physician to discuss protection of health; and he may find it both desirable and necessary to search the community for volunteer leadership and then to train that leadership in the philosophy and methods of his particular agency or organization. Are all of these tasks social group work?

Group work is a deliberate educational process which aims (1) to assist in the development and adjustment of certain particular individuals through voluntary group association; and at the same time, (2) to make use of this association to further other "selected" socially desirable goals. The process is focused on both the growth of particular individuals, and the furtherance of social goals, including social action. Moreover, it is the combined and consistent pursuit of both these aims, not merely one of them, that distinguishes group work as an educational process. All work with groups is not group work.³

One of the difficulties in attempting to define group work in specific terms is the fact that persons inevitably function in groups. Man is both individual and social in character. Functioning in groups is inherent in his very make-up. Today, at least two different classes of groups are discernible, those with a legal base and those growing out of voluntary initiative. The first type is illustrated in municipality and state; the second, in fraternal and interest-satisfying units such as lodges, men's service clubs, parent-teacher associations, card clubs, or civic societies. Throughout history, people have been held together in groups by three major bonds, the blood tie (kinship), territory (country, native land), and specific interests. These three bonds are also effective today. However, today's civilization has a developed type of the interest group in that the interest may be deliberately promoted and a paid leadership may stimulate articulativeness of desire to be used as a motivation for organizing the group. For example, a Boy Scout leader may talk with a boy who has never heard of Boy Scouts and arouse his imagination and desire to join a troop. When this boy joins other boys, who have likewise been urged by some one to become members, two other kinds of leadership besides the paid, professional leadership appear. One is the volunteer leader, usually among Boy Scouts, an adult supervised, perhaps trained, by the paid leader;

³ W. I. Newstetter, "Content of the Curriculum in Group Work," address, general meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, Indianapolis, May 27, 1937.

and the other is the boy leader indigenous to the group. The boy leader may be one boy at a given time and later another boy may swing into the place of the leader within the group, as the group activity develops and relationships change. Perhaps the question is not too far-fetched to ask: which one or which ones of these three leaders may be doing social group work?

Any group functions in space, that is, in a place. That place, whether rural or urban, is under certain social and governmental controls, such as traditions, standards, manners, rules, and laws. The paid leader in his organizing function must decide what territory is to be covered, that is, served by the social agency with which he is connected. To do this, he must have some idea of how many possible participants there are. Then he must know whether anyone else has undertaken to do what he contemplates doing. He will need to find out where he can secure volunteer leaders to help in carrying out the group program. In addition, he will need a board of directors and committees to assist him in financing his agency, in publicizing it, and in advising both the central organization and possible subsidiary units.

Certainly, in order to carry out these purposes he must study his community, know both its resources and its problems, and see the relation of his particular program to the programs of other agencies of similar character and the definite possibilities of co-operative effort. He will work with community leaders in various fields and pool with them his anxieties, his hopes, and his plans so that out of their common seeking all may share in the creative experience that carries social work of any kind to a higher level of effectiveness.

It would seem clear that the paid group leader must be concerned with at least three objectives of his professional service: (1) the socialization of the members of

the groups as they are organized; (2) the development of groups themselves and of group unity and loyalties within them; and (3) the organization of community understanding and support of the program he is promoting. The first objective links group work with social case work in social purpose; the second is the heart of the group work process; and the third indicates the use of executive (administrative) and community organization techniques.

Community organization is the stimulation of the people in a community to function co-operatively in attaining specific goals. It means the focusing of social energy to achieve selected ends. One type of organization of the community in a special, limited sense is illustrated by the community chest and by the council of social agencies. But community organization in a limited form is also demonstrated by a chamber of commerce, a farm bureau, a Y.W.C.A., a Y.M.C.A., a city playground department, or by any agency that considers the community as an area of service, that depends upon widespread community sympathy and support, that appreciates its dependence upon the community, and that reaches out into the community in order that the organization may survive and flourish. However, many agencies do not see the community as a complete whole presenting a variegated pattern which must be studied in order that another line or color of a new effort may be made to tone into it in harmonious fashion and contribute to its beauty. Many agencies are individualistic in organization. They see the community from a self-centered point of view as both a possible field of functioning and a field within which support may be drawn. They seek to draw the community around themselves and their special interests, rather than to see their relation to the total situation and to fit into that constructively.

As it applies to the social work field, community organization is possible of several different interpretations. (1) It refers to the effort of any social work agency to enlist community interest, support, and participation in its program to enhance its own effectiveness. Administrative, or executive, organizational, and promotional techniques are utilized. Effort proceeds from the agency outward into the community but the center of interest remains the agency. All agencies to succeed must demonstrate some efficiency in this limited type of community organization, or at least in the use of certain techniques of community organization. (2) The second type is discovered in the effort of any agency to organize the people of a neighborhood, district, or community (or their representatives) back of a program which has a community-wide significance and appeal but which is centered in and around the particular agency. A good example, at least in its present development, is the co-ordinating council promoted by the probation department of the Juvenile Court on the territorial basis of high school districts and motivated by the goal of destroying and preventing those social conditions which both cause and increase juvenile delinquency. Effort is made to arouse a sense of local responsibility which shall express itself in definite action in terms of local needs. However, the organization is sponsored by and built upon the efforts of the probation department which keeps prodding local units to greater alertness and effort. (3) The third type is more inclusive. It is a co-operative venture participated in by representatives of member agencies which undertakes to see the community as a whole, its resources and its weaknesses, and to map out a program of extending its resources, of eliminating its inadequacies, and of building for a more secure social future. As noted above, this third type in social work is as a rule limited to social

work agencies, including those under both public and private auspices. However, there is an absence of the kind of community organization that actually sees the community as a whole and undertakes to knit into an intelligent and comprehensive program all of its philanthropic (social), civic, political, religious, educational, industrial, and governmental instrumentalities. Perhaps every community needs such a kind of superorganization which would sponsor a community program growing out of long-term planning and which would not be limited to the supplying of money for welfare agencies or raising their standards and promoting co-operation, but would be devoted to the improvement of all aspects of the common life. This form of voluntary community organization represents an ideal toward which we hope we are tending. It is of course true that the community as a political entity undertakes to provide for all needs of its citizens and functions as a centralized administrative and controlling agency, consciously or unconsciously supported by all of the citizens as long as they remain within its boundaries. But, in social work, community organization is predicated upon its voluntary character in the enlistment of the active, conscious support of citizens behind common ventures designed to promote the social welfare of all of its citizens.⁴

It is true that all social work agencies use community organization techniques in so far as they reach out into the community. However, since group work is devoted to numbers of people in association with one another (although the individual is not to be lost in the mass, and one goal, consistently maintained, is the socialization of the

⁴ Community organization may also be considered as a social process if by social process we mean the interaction of people and institutions in the effort to find the answers to needs and desires. It is a constant, unconscious form of association and is reflected in changing relationships and changing social means through which both individuals and groups function. It is evident in the prevailing social order of people in a given time and place.

individual), it necessarily extends its activities to include the stimulation of social action, a goal common to community organization. In other words, group work does not for a moment lose sight of the fact that each small group is a part of a larger social unit, the community, and that it has definite responsibilities toward that community in promoting co-operatively arrived at programs of social action.

Out of this brief analysis, it would seem a valid conclusion that group work as a set or series of techniques, inevitably makes use of community organization not only in the development of a particular kind of group work organization, such as Boy Scouts, through education of possible sponsors and leaders as well as of boy participants, but also as it stimulates interest in community welfare and a sense of responsibility for it. It may promote or participate in a community-wide, community-shared program not only in boys' work or girls' work but in all phases of social betterment that spell a well-organized community of opportunity for all.

Another illustration of the utilization of community organization methods in the group work field might be furnished by a social settlement interested not only in developing activities within the settlement house but in organizing the entire neighborhood into an articulate demand for better housing, improved sanitation, or more adequate playgrounds; and which may then seek to stimulate a community-wide appreciation of the needed social reform as discovered in the local neighborhood.

One of the difficulties of social work today is the attempt to specialize so minutely in techniques that the group worker may say:

When I am interesting a boy or locating and training a volunteer leader, I may be with a group work agency but I am not doing group work. I am doing group work only when I am able to help a small

group become group conscious and function as a unit, because out of that process may come both individual growth and social action. . . . Group work has no linkage with community organization. Community organization is limited to the activities of community chests and councils of social agencies.

Perhaps we need a reorientation of social workers and a mutual understanding among them of the common approaches and of their variations in specific kinds of agencies.

Perhaps we need to redefine the community and to see it not simply as place or bounded territorial area but as place *plus* people *plus* the activities of people in their search for the satisfaction of their needs. Every group is a unit within a larger group until we reach inclusive world society. The group worker necessarily is acutely conscious of the individual in the groups with which he is professionally associated but he cannot fail to be conscious also of the environing community with its many other groups shifting in membership and relationship to each other, often competing in their different interests, both actually and potentially, with the groups the leader is counseling. However, if group work is activity with groups, and community organization is also work with groups, including the total group of the community, it would seem difficult to separate them completely. It would even seem that community organization is complementary to group work. Each has its specialized techniques, but it seems evident even from this brief discussion that the group worker supplements his special skills of leadership⁵ with the techniques of community organization both in the administrative aspects of his agency as well as in his sharing in co-operative efforts illustrated in an agency specifically designated and accepted as an instrumentality of community organization, such as a community chest or a council of social agencies.

⁵ A later article will deal with the specific techniques of the social group worker.

MASARYK AS SOCIOLOGIST

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Thomas Garigue Masaryk (1850-1937), former professor in Charles University (Prague, Czechoslovakia) and former President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, of which he is considered the founder together with Dr. Eduard Benes,¹ another leading sociologist of that country, will hardly have the doubtful honor of parading among the sociologists who have erected new and complete systems. Nearly all great internationally known sociologists of his generation (that is, during the second half of the nineteenth century) offered great sociological systems; but Masaryk never attempted to originate or synthesize a sociological system. However, he did analyze a number of the problems of abstract sociology. Otherwise his sociological contributions are limited to numerous articles and several monographical studies.² He lim-

¹ See his *My War Memoirs*, trans. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928). When the leading Czechoslovak sociological review, *Sociologická Revue*, was founded in 1930, Benes opened it with a special letter to its editor, Professor I. A. Bláha, and has since contributed several articles. Some material on the sociological contributions of Benes can be found in: J. S. Roucek, "Eduard Benes," *World Unity*, 14:136-46, "Eduard Benes," *Social Science*, 10:200-201, and "Fiftieth Birthday of Dr. Eduard Benes," *World Affairs Interpreter*, 5:154-58.

² The only available complete bibliography of Masaryk's contributions can be found in: K. Capek, *Mlčení s T. G. Masarykem (The Silences with T. G. Masaryk)*, Prague, 1935, pp. 27-31. The following are valuable studies of Masaryk's contributions to sociology: I. A. Bláha, "La sociologie tchèque contemporaine," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, 29:225-48; and "Die zeitgenössische tschechische Soziologie," *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, Karlsruhe, 2:441-61; and "Contemporary Sociology in Czechoslovakia," *Social Forces*, 9:167-79; J. Král, "Masaryk Filosof a Sociolog" ("Masaryk as Philosopher and Sociologist"), in M. Weingart, Ed., *Sborník Přednášek o T. G. Masarykovi (Lectures on T. G. Masaryk)*, Prague, 1931, pp. 13-24; and *Na okraj Masarykovy Sebevraždy (Remarks on Masaryk's "Suicide")*, Bratislava, 1927; V. K. Skrach, *T. G. Masaryk*, reprinted from *Masarykův Slovník Naučný*, Prague, 1930; M. J. Sapoval, "T. G. Masaryk jako sociolog" ("Masaryk as a Sociologist"), *Sociologická Revue*, 1:14-20, 245-68; Bláha, "Masaryk a Veda," ("Masaryk and Science"), *ibid.*, 1:7-13; J. L. Fischer, "Dvě kapitoly k Masarykově sociologii" ("Two Chapters on Masaryk's Sociology"), *ibid.*, pp. 21-40; Bláha, "T. G. Masaryk," *ibid.*, 6:7-13; Z. Nejedlý, *T. G. Masaryk*, Vol. IV, Prague, Melantrich, 1937; Z. Ullrich,

ited himself to evaluating sociology as a science and placed it within the system of sciences; otherwise his sociology can be found only scattered throughout his numerous works.³

For this reason the evaluation of Masaryk as a sociologist is a very difficult task. To survey Masaryk's numerous writings is a duty which also requires the knowledge of the history of half a century of the Czechoslovak people and of Europe, as the scientific contributions of this famous scholar, politician, and statesman cannot be isolated from the social milieu within which he worked.

Following the publication of his *Suicide*, Masaryk's first important theoretical sociological contribution was

Vyvoj sociální psychologie (The Evolution of Social Psychology), Prague, Jan Aubrecht, 1936, pp. 62-65; J. B. Kozák, *Masaryk as Philosopher* (offprint from *Slovonic Review*), London, 1930; Josef Král, *Ceskoslovenská filosofie (Czechoslovak Philosophy)*, Prague, Melantrich, 1937, pp. 310-16 and *passim*. Scattered information dealing with Masaryk's sociological theories can be found in: J. S. Roucek, "President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia," *Current History*, 31:1109-12; and "Thomas Garigue Masaryk," *World Unity*, 6:413-23; and "Thomas Garigue Masaryk as Politician and Statesman," *Social Science*, 6:272-78; C. J. C. Street, *President Masaryk*, London, 1930; E. Ludwig, *Defender of Democracy, Masaryk of Czechoslovakia*, New York, 1936; K. Capek, *President Masaryk Tells His Story*, New York, 1935; E. Chalupny, *Masaryk jako sociolog (Masaryk as a Sociologist)*, Prague, Melantrich, 1937; A. Obrdlík, "T. G. Masaryk, Jeho Místo a význam v české sociologii" ("Masaryk, His Place and Importance in Czech Sociology"), *Sociological Review*, 8:301-22.

³ The most important works of Masaryk, which must be studied from the standpoint of sociology, are: *Sebevražda hromadným zjevem společenským moderní osvěty (Suicide as a Social Phenomenon of Modern Civilization)*, originally in German, Vienna, 1881, Czech edition, Prague, 1904, 3rd ed., 1930; *Základy konkrétní logiky (The Foundations of Concrete Logic)*, Prague, 1885, in German, *Versuch einer konkreten Logik. Klassifikation und Organisation der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1887; "Rukovet sociologie" (*Handbook of Sociology*), *Nase doba*, 8, 1901 (unfinished, 56 pages); *Otázka sociální (Social Question)*, Prague, 1892, 2nd ed., 1935, in German, Vienna, 1899, in Russian, Moscow, 1900; *Theorie dejin dle zásad T. H. Bucklea (The Theory of History according to T. H. Buckle)*, Prague, 1884; *Russia and Europe*, 2 vols., originally in German, Jena, 1931, in Czech, Prague, 1919-1921, 2nd ed., 1930-31, English translation, *The Spirit of Russia*, New York, 1919; *The Problem of Small Nations in Europe's Crisis*, London, 1916, Chicago, 1917, in German, Prague, 1922, in Czech, 1926; *The Slavs Among the Nations*, London, 1916, translated as *Les Slaves dans le monde*, Prague, 1919, 3rd ed., 1924; *The Making of a State*, London, New York, 1927. We have not cited a number of smaller articles and pamphlets, as well as books, mostly from the field of philosophy (about Plato, Hume, Pascal, et cetera), but which also deal in some sections with sociology, such as: *Národnostní filosofie doby novéjší (The Philosophy of Nationality)*, Jicin, 1905, 2nd ed., Prague, 1919; *Nesnáze demokracie (The Difficulties of Democracy)*, Prague, 1913; *Věda a církev (Science and Religion)*, Prague, 1908; etc.

The Foundations of Concrete Logic, published in 1885, and devoted to the problem of classification and organization of the sciences. Roughly speaking, concrete logic means the teaching of method, and its main idea is the division of the sciences into two sections, the one of mathematics and natural science, the other of sciences of the spirit. There is a further division into abstract and concrete, theoretical and practical sciences, and the so-called hierarchy, which determined their mutual relation and manner of serving each other.⁴

But why the word concrete in the title, *Concrete Logic*? As soon as the book appeared it was pointed out that the real contents concerned methodology of *Wissenschaftslehre*. But Masaryk had his own reason. Are not logic and methodology among the most important scientific activities? If so, is not logic one of the greatest sciences? But if it is a science, it must belong to the system of sciences and be properly placed. Every field, according to Masaryk, has its own abstract science and its concrete science. Even logic can be divided into abstract, dealing with general laws of thinking, and concrete logic.

If we wish to survey the world of science, we must know primarily in what forms they work. But this cannot be done by merely enumerating the sciences. We must have some principle which divides and again unites all sciences, because there are no sciences with no principles. This is offered by the classification of the sciences. According to Masaryk, Aristotle is the first good contributor to this field; then Bacon, and thereafter Comte. Others before Comte are important only historically: Comenius, Hobbes, Hume, Ampère, Bentham, Pournot. On the other hand, Comte provided the most substantial

⁴ According to Kozák, *op. cit.*, p. 485, "this task appeals so strongly to Masaryk that as an old man he again began to work at it on new lines, and is still working at it at the age of 80." According to the knowledge of the author, Masaryk never published a restatement of his theory, although he wanted to bring out a third, revised edition of his *Concrete Logic*.

foundation for a classification of the sciences, as he penetrated to the inner logic of the organization of the sciences, to their inner unity, and thereby created something which is the starting point for all those examining this problem. Masaryk then also criticizes Spencer, the main critic of Comte. He accepts him in some details but disagrees with him at the point where Spencer attacks Comte's fundamental principle of classification.

By utilizing J. S. Mill for his starting point, Masaryk eventually offers the following classification of the sciences: (1) mathematics, (2) mechanics, (3) physics, (4) chemistry, (5) biology, (6) psychology, (7) sociology. To them Masaryk adds: (8) the knowledge of languages, (9) aesthetics, (10) logic. Aristotle had classified the sciences into theoretical and practical; and Masaryk states that theoretical sciences "seek the truth for its own sake, without regard to its use," while the practical ones "serve only a certain purpose." The theoretical sciences are, furthermore, abstract and concrete. The number of sciences is great, in fact innumerable, but their foundations are theoretical, abstract sciences—the ten sciences enumerated here.⁵

It is not enough, continues Masaryk, to divide the sciences. It is even more important to place them in a unified system. He does on the assumption that if we knew all the sciences we could know wherein and what is the unity of knowledge. But we could achieve this only by following a logical order, the result of the relations of the sciences. Hence the secret lies in finding the relation of science to science. Each science serves others either materially or by its method. For example, psychology

⁵ It cannot be said that Masaryk solved the question of the classification of the sciences very originally. His arrangement of the sciences is nothing but Comte's hierarchy of sciences, wherein Masaryk replaced astronomy by mechanics, and separated psychology from biology and placed it as a special science between biology and sociology. But even these changes are not those of Masaryk; Herbert Spencer similarly had changed Comte's classification.

helps history, materially. Various methods, such as experimentation, analogy, deduction, are useful to several sciences at the same time. Hence we get to a sort of hierarchy of sciences. The placement of the sciences depends on how they serve others. The more a science must depend on other sciences, the less accurate is its knowledge. Thus mathematics is the most accurate, and sociology the most complex and the least dependable science. On the other hand, we gain here by utilizing the methods of all other sciences. But scientific specialists are expected to remember their limitations and not to claim that their methods and results are the sole road to salvation. Most of the aberrations of modern ideologies, such as materialism, naturalism, Marxism, are after all nothing but a struggle of certain sciences and methods, especially those concerned with mechanical process, for exclusive sway. Masaryk classes them all as the product of an unscientific spirit, but at the same time tries to show the lines which the true scientist should follow. The way in which he did this has in many respects forestalled the present development of scientific trends. As early as the eighties—in other words, at a period when specialization was in full swing—he appealed for synthetic work and wanted to publish, in co-operation with others, a scientific encyclopaedia, a sort of forerunner of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. He claimed that success can result only from a thorough and well-organized co-operation of many scholars and proposed the formation of groups of scholars, who would corporatively restate human knowledge from time to time by a sifting of scientific results. Such a work would have involved remaking the educational system.

According to Masaryk, sociology "teaches us the organization of human society, its natural consensus and the conditions of its existence." Like Comte, he divides

sociology into concrete and practical. These must not be mixed from the standpoint of method. Society is a dynamic organization made up of subsidiary organizations. It is not composed of individuals but of associations. Between the organizations exists a mutual interdependence, a reciprocal relationship, a social consensus, of which Comte, Mill, Ward, Karajev, and others speak. This consensus cannot be identified with the concept of equilibrium. In the last analysis, however, the individual must be the unit of society. By way of analysis, we achieve, finally, an individual point of departure, an individual consciousness, for a separate group consciousness does not exist. Since the fundamental social factors are individuals, psychology is the direct foundation of sociology. In order to understand the relation of the individual to society, all relations in various spheres of social life must be examined. "In the understanding of these relations lies really the whole secret of sociology, the secret of what is social and what is individual." Man, as the subject and object of sociology, in his effort to dominate nature imposes on himself the tasks for the realization of which he is the master of limitless means, especially human, created historically by society, and consistently tries to overcome the determinism not only of nature but also of society (men and their relations). The latter is already considerably determined by natural factors. Human society is the creation of nature and human spirit; in relation to man society is an ethical phenomenon (Masaryk examines the state, the family, the church, and the nation as social phenomena which realize in addition to other objectives, an ethical goal), and humanitarianism is the highest ethical goal of human co-living. Religion represents a higher moral sanction for human activity. This life is already part of eternity, for Masaryk believed in immortality. Hence we are to understand our duties, not

as mystical visions, but as concrete tasks, national, social, human, in the family, in education, among friends, in politics. Patient, minute toil; social, intelligent, critical love, not a puppy love; serving man whom we can see, we serve God whom we see not. Religion is a ritual and a moral code, but not a completed thing. There are not varieties of truth, but one truth only, that of science, critically tested and accepted. The religion of the modern world must rest on a scientific truth, on conviction, not on faith.

A very important element in Masaryk's thought is his conception of myth. Not only the old tales of the creation, the fall of angels, or the heathen tales of gods and demons, but everything that is opposed to scientific thinking and scientific methods is to Masaryk a myth: every view which, however, may have grown up, is passed on without question from generation to generation; everything which we are told not to investigate or think about. To him most systems of religious doctrine are mythology—even the larger part of Christian theology and apologetics which “plead for extenuating circumstances.” But there are also political myths, as, for example, the divine right of kings, and social myths, as, for example, the predestined subordination of certain people or certain classes; yes, myths even in science, as, for example, the doctrine that the raw struggle for existence is the only mainspring of evolution in all forms of life.

It would lead us too far afield to analyze other concepts of Masaryk as expressed in reference to various public questions of the day. It will be sufficient to refer to his well-known *Suicide*. He considers the term in its wider meaning, that is, despair and despondency, even indifference to that which ruins and breaks a man, a lack of support in himself and in the world, a lack of faith in the divine order of the world. All resignation and pessi-

mism are unhealthy symptoms in contemporary society. "Suicide is a sort of delirium of subjectivism, the destruction of personality as soon as it lets go an object to which it could hold"; it is an illness of all civilized society. The roots are fixed in a decay of the *Weltanschauung*.

In conclusion, Masaryk belongs to that small group of scientists who helped to build the road for the modern scientific sociological theories of society. Sociology as a science about "the nature and mechanism of human behavior" or sociology as the science of social interactions and their results has a pioneer in Masaryk who, together with Simmel, Durkheim, Giddings, L. F. Ward, and Tarde, laid the firm foundations for modern sociology. Otherwise Masaryk made no attempt to create a sociological system. But as a practical sociologist, teacher, politician, statesman, whose influence has penetrated every aspect of his nation, Masaryk answers perfectly the assumption propounded by an American sociologist: "If there is anyone in the world who should philosophize, who needs to philosophize, who has to philosophize, it is the sociologist."⁶ From this standpoint, Masaryk the philosopher (or, shall we say, ideologist?) is inseparable from Masaryk the sociologist. To him the value of philosophies is inseparable from their repercussions in cultural life. The manner in which they work out in practice is the essential test.⁷

Masaryk has been rightly called the founder of Czech sociology, for he was the first man in Bohemia to concern himself systematically and on a scientific basis with both concrete sociological questions and the methods of sociological study. The first sociological society of Czechoslovakia, the Masaryk Sociological Society, has been named

⁶ E. G. Payne, "Scientific Reaction to Philosophy," in E. G. Payne, Ed., *Readings in Educational Sociology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933), I, p. 20.

⁷ In this Masaryk is somewhat reminiscent of William James; indeed, he did anticipate some of the leading ideas of pragmatism.

after him. From the world-wide standpoint, he is the only example of a scholar-sociologist of modern times who has been able to apply successfully his sociological principles and theories to currents of national and international problems.⁸

⁸ From this standpoint, the most serious criticism of Masaryk, as a theoretical sociologist, can be made to the effect that he narrowed the social processes to a clear ideological trend (especially democracy), which forgets the most characteristic plasticism of social reality, without much regard to a struggle and a possible victory of other ideological principles. Hence Masaryk was unable to overcome his abhorrence of the Fascist movements in the countries surrounding Czechoslovakia.

RURAL POPULATION IN CHINA

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INTRODUCTION

Population is one of the fundamental elements in society. It affects every phase of the social, economic, and political life of a nation. This is the reason why the politicians and the students of economics and sociology of all nations pay so much attention to the question of population. At present, we can find numerous problems in rural China, but we can say that population is one of the most important problems in rural China today, because the increase and decrease in number, the age and sex distribution, the low or high birth rate and death rate, the marital conditions, the difference in quality of rural population are factors of great importance in rural, social, economic, and political life.

The rural population in China is even more important than in any other country of the world, for the largest proportion of China's population is living in the country. Our urban population constitutes only a small percentage. From the economic point of view, rural population plays an important part not only in production but also in consumption.

Although the rural population is so important, as we have just stated, the scientific study of this problem in China is of only recent origin. The great difficulty of studying it is that, as yet, there has been no census taken of it as has been done periodically in the Western nations, so that accurate statistics of every aspect of natural rural problems are still not available.

The sources of this article are based on the surveys which were made by individuals and institutions during

the last two decades. The writer realizes the shortcomings of such study, for the surveys were not made at the same time. Again, the planning, the content, and the classification of items are not all the same, so the comparison and analysis cannot be accurately made, due to its limited means.

ESTIMATES OF RURAL POPULATION IN CHINA

We often hear people say that 80 per cent of China's population is rural, but this is only a rough guess. In 1932, the Ministry of Industry estimated that 79 per cent of China's population were living in the country. In the same year, the Statistical Bureau of the National Government estimated that the farming population was 74.5 per cent of the total population of China. The above estimate is based on the reports from the authorities of Hsiens (districts), the Post Office, et cetera, including 25 provinces with 1,781 districts.¹

The total number of households of the 25 provinces is 78,568,245; the number of rural households is 58,569,181; and the percentage of rural households to the total of households is 74.5. Now if we know the average number of persons in Chinese rural families and households, we can eventually estimate the number of China's rural population. Surveys taken of 45,564 families show the average number of persons per family as 5.26; and the average number of persons per household as 5.50. Let us now multiply this figure by the 58,569,181 rural households. We can then see that the rural population of the 25 provinces is 322,130,499. As we have stated before, the rural population of the three provinces (Sikang, Chinghai, and Kwangsi), 10 districts of Sinkiang, 4 districts of Yunnan, and 1 district of Heilungkiang, are not included

¹ China has altogether 28 provinces with 1,935 districts. The 33 districts of Sikang, the 12 districts of Chinghai, and the 93 districts of Kwangsi were not included, due to the lack of data. Of the 25 provinces, statistical data of 10 districts of the Province of Sinkiang, 4 districts of the Province of Yunnan, and 1 district of the Province of Heilungkiang were not available.

in these figures. If we add estimates for those provinces and districts, the total rural population of China is about 340,000,000.

THE SIZE OF RURAL FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

The term family is used here to include only relatives staying together, while household includes all relatives, employees, and others who eat and live together at the same home.

There are two ways to analyze the size of a rural family: one is to analyze the average number of persons of the family; the other is to analyze the number of persons in the family. The average number of rural families varies in different regions. The highest average of persons in the family is 8.40 persons, and the highest average of persons in the household is 9.90 persons. However, the average number of persons in the family and household of all regions is only 5.26 and 5.50, respectively. Such averages seem much smaller than appears to the casual observer, as China generally has large family groups.

As to the number of persons in Chinese rural families, it is interesting to notice from a study of 21,459 families that the most common sizes of a family appear to be four and five persons. We find that one family (in Ting Hsien, Hopei) has 65 persons. As a rule, the sizes of rural families in North China are much larger than those of South China.

THE SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL POPULATION

From the sociological and the biological points of view, it is desirable to have an equal distribution of sex, yet the world over we can find the widest variations actually existing. The condition in rural China is an example. Among all the surveys made, without any exception, all regions in China have more males than females. We find the ratio of males to 100 females varies in different regions. Of thirteen studies made, the total number of

males is 77,327; and the total number of females is 70,910. in some regions it is still much higher. Of course, we can explain it in various ways. First, it is due to the attitude of parents, who usually have a partiality to male children. Second, it is due to the high death rate among females at childbirth and to infanticide of baby girls. Third, it may be due to the fact that fewer females are actually born than males and also to the failure to report brides and unmarried grown-up girls.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL POPULATION

The distribution of age is important in a rural population because the different ages, the duration of life, and the productivity of the people highly concern human welfare and social conditions.

The classifications of the age group of the surveys of rural population made in China differ from one another, so it is not convenient for us to compare all. We shall consider only the classifications of the 10-year age group and 5-year age group.

In the first case, the age distribution is divided into 10-year age groupings except for those under the age of 5. This study consists of 5,925 persons of all regions. The percentage of each age group of every region is somewhat different but the general trend of distribution is almost the same. The age groups of 5-14 and 15-24 have a larger percentage in all regions.

In the second case, the age distribution is divided by 5-year age groupings, and the number of persons is 85,516, much greater than in the study that we have just mentioned. The analysis is more adequate for it seems representative of the normal condition of the rural population in China. From this study we can clearly see that, without any exception, the younger the population the greater the number, and the older the population the smaller the number.

BIRTH RATE, DEATH RATE, RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE, AND VITAL INDEX OF RURAL POPULATION

The rural birth rate and death rate are not only related to the increase and decrease in the quantity of rural population but are also related to the quality of population, and to the social and health conditions of rural areas. The birth rate, death rate, and the rate of natural increase are referred to as per thousand of the population of certain areas during the whole year. Such a study is rather difficult in China, especially in the rural districts, for the enforcement of birth and death registration is not practiced at all in rural China. The data used in this study were obtained by the survey method.

We find that there are large variations in the birth rate and death rate. The birth rates are variously given from 15.5 to 58.4 per thousand, and the death rates likewise from 11.9 to 37.1 per thousand of population. The result is an average birth rate of 36.3 for all regions studied, and a death rate of 25.3. The rate of natural increase is 11.0. Such birth rates and death rates are very high, higher than those of most other countries of the world.²

Raymond Pearl uses the death rate divided by the birth rate and multiplied by 100 to make what he calls vital index. If the index number is over 100, that means the population is in a favorable and healthy condition, otherwise it is in an unfavorable and unhealthy condition. By his way of calculation, there is only one region according to our study in which the vital index is under 100, while the average is 143.5.

AGE OF MARRIAGE OF RURAL POPULATION

The age of marriage of the people is also related to rural conditions, such as birth rate and many other social

² It is doubtful whether these percentages can be applied to other rural districts of China. Because of the method used, the irregularity of time, and the under-reporting of the people themselves, these figures are altogether highly questionable.

factors. Generally speaking, the rural population in China marry rather early, but not so early as some people imagine. Some Western observers still think that child-marriages are prevalent in rural China. We can not say that there are no child-marriages in rural China, but such marriages are very rare.

Our study of 1,699 males and 2,030 females shows the percentage distribution of ages of marriage in five-year groupings for both males and females. In the families of Ting Hsien (North China), we see that some males were even married at under 10 years of age. This means that the boys usually marry earlier than the girls. Some females are married after the age of 24, but the percentage is very small. When females reach the age of 20 to 24 years, their chances for marriage are very small. On the other hand, the period of marriage for males is much later than for females. The figures show that there are no females married after the age of 40, but the age of marriage for males continues up to 54 and over.

DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION

The density of population refers to the number of persons in a certain land area. There are usually two ways of measuring the density of population: one way is to measure by the number of persons per unit of total land area; another way is to measure by the number of persons per unit of cultivated land only. The latter method is preferable, because the land would be meaningless, no matter how large it is, if it is not cultivated. The figures for density of population used here are measured by per unit of cultivated land.

In most rural surveys made in China, the density of population is omitted. Now we can take only the surveys which were made by Brown, Buck, and Malone, who paid attention to density of rural population. The density of rural population is calculated by the number of per-

sons per square mile and by the number of persons per square kilometer, and the number of *mou* (1 square mile equals 4,216 Chinese *mou*) per person.

It may be stated that the densest region is Kianghsien, Chekiang, where there are 3,832 persons per square mile or 1,480 per square kilometer. Each person can have only 1.1 *mou*. The least densely populated area of the surveys made is Su Hsien, Anhwei, where there are only 255 persons per square mile or 99 persons per square kilometer. Each person can have 16.5 *mou*. The study includes 52,818 persons with 279,346.6 *mou* of land, averaging 5.3 *mou* per person, 795 persons per square mile, or 307 persons per square kilometer.

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THE ORIENTAL DELINQUENT IN THE VANCOUVER JUVENILE COURT

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The dissimilarity of the family attitude of the Oriental and that of the white immigrant is very marked. The ugly hostility between parents and children which, in the case of white nationalities, breaks out in Court in bitter reproaches and fierce recriminations is unknown in Oriental cases here. The Oriental family sits in Court, restrained, deeply anxious, alert, and eager to help. A child gone wrong is a sore anxiety, but never "cast off." Every relative to the remotest degree feels responsibility for the welfare of the younger members. The lives of these people center around their children. Homes open readily to the orphan and destitute child. Even the illegitimate, Eurasian child is taken in and cared for, despite the dishonor its coming has brought the family.

During my fifteen years on the Bench, my attention has been attracted again and again to this persistent difference between the family life of the Susys and Yones, and that of the Maries and Tommys. Susy and Yone were among my first Oriental cases. Those that followed but emphasized this difference. Further, Court statistics over a period of years pointed to an even more noteworthy dissimilarity—the rarity of the Oriental child's appearance in our Court.

Students have long known that juvenile delinquency is chronic in the slums and common among the children of immigrants. Now the Oriental child in Vancouver is both a slum dweller and an immigrant's child. *Yet he is seldom a delinquent.*

TABLE I
TABLE SHOWING THE RATIO OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BETWEEN ORIENTALS AND NON-ORIENTALS FOR THE PERIOD
1928-1936, BASED ON SCHOOL POPULATION

YEAR	JAPANESE			CHINESE			HINDU			TOTAL ORIENTAL			NON-ORIENTAL			TOTAL	TOTAL
	School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents		School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents		School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents		School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents		School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents		School Popu- lation	No. of Delin- quents
1928-1929	1,237	1		568	2		12	0		1,817	3		37,604	628		39,421	631
1929-1930	1,354	0		600	1		13	0		1,967	1		37,979	819		39,946	820
1930-1931	1,589	0		610	1		16	0		2,215	1		38,381	701		40,596	702
1931-1932	1,677	0		664	0		18	0		2,359	0		39,020	776		41,379	776
1932-1933	1,828	3		681	3		28	0		2,537	6		38,837	440		41,374	446
1933-1934	1,867	2		687	0		39	0		2,593	2		38,502	483		41,095	485
1934-1935	1,991	4		688	0		33	0		2,712	4		38,371	537		41,083	541
1935-1936	2,035	2		711	0		34	0		2,780	2		37,335	411		40,115	413
TOTALS	13,578	12		5,209	7		193	0		18,980	19		306,029	4,795		325,009	4,814

For every 10,000 Oriental school children, there were 10 delinquents. For every 10,000 non-Oriental school children, there were 156.5 delinquents. Thus the white delinquency rate was 15.65 times that of the Oriental.

NOTES ON TABLE I

1. School population figures are for Vancouver city (excluding the districts of South Vancouver and Point Grey), and are taken from the reports of the Bureau of Measurements, Board of School Trustees, Vancouver.
The figures give the enrollment from June to June.
2. Delinquency figures are from the records of the Vancouver Juvenile Court, and are from January to January.
3. The discrepancy in the periods compared is slight and, over a period of years, would introduce little error.
4. The figures are not compared on a yearly basis, owing to the very small number of Oriental delinquencies. Considered over a period of time, however, the numbers are sufficiently large to have significance as ratios.
5. The assumption is made that, in both cases, the school population constitutes the same proportion of the total population of Juvenile Court age. Greater refinement of the figures would change this ratio but little.
6. The years before 1928 were not included in the table and calculations, owing to incompleteness of the school population figures for a particular year or two.

In the eight-year period (1928-1936) considered in this study, there were 4,814 delinquents¹ in the Vancouver Juvenile Court (see Table I). Of these 19 were Oriental. In proportionate terms, for every 10,000 white school children,² there were 156.5 delinquents; for every 10,000 Oriental school children, there were 10 delinquents. Thus the white delinquency rate was 15.6 times that of the Oriental.³

Is there some factor operating to weight these ratios against the whites? Do, for instance, Oriental children manage to avoid being brought into Court? While there is a common notion that Orientals are "wily," it is absurd to impute guile on such a wholesale scale to children. Probably, however, there are cases that do not reach the Court, for it is significant that during the period studied, no Orientals appeared in Court as complainants. That is a natural consequence of the isolation of nationals settled in the midst of an alien people. With the development of national and racial consciousness, the Oriental may shrink from bringing complaint in a white Court against his countryman's child, or against the child of a member of his own race. Even the strained relations existing between the Chinese and Japanese as a result of national movements in Asia brought no change in our Court, in this regard. The racial group, the national group, the family group, all operate to handle and control the delinquent without recourse to the white Court. If the situation is too difficult for the immediate family, related families may be called upon to save family and national pride, and,

¹ The age group considered here included all delinquents and dependents under 18 years of age. The Court has jurisdiction over all dependent children under 18, and all delinquent children from 9 to 18 years. On coming into custody of the Court, they remain wards of the Court until 21 years of age.

² The compulsory school law (which applies to all children regardless of nationality) keeps children at school up to the age of 15.

³ The assumption is that, in both cases, the school population constitutes the same proportion of the total population of Juvenile Court age. Greater refinement of the figures would change this ratio but little.

as a last resort, the recalcitrant child may be shipped to the Old Land to be brought up there by relatives. Apparently, the Oriental has his own methods of handling his delinquents, which operate to keep the child out of the Juvenile Court. Even so, the difference in delinquency rates is too great to be explained by the simple statement that the Oriental here will not bring complaint against the Oriental child.

So we return to the statement that the difference between white and Oriental delinquency rates is surprisingly large, and to the interesting question—why are Oriental children good?⁴

Sociologists agree that delinquency, like measles, is contagious, and that the following conditions are potent factors of delinquency among children.

1. Residence in areas of high delinquency rates.
2. Attendance at schools having high delinquency records.
3. Disesteem of the community for the parents' and child's nationality.
4. Conflict in the home between child and parent.

Are these conditions absent from among Oriental children in Vancouver, or is the Oriental child simply unaffected by them?

A child living in a district where juvenile delinquency is common is apt to be led into wrongdoing by delinquent neighbors. Further, though he live in a good neighborhood, free from delinquent children, if he attend a school having a high delinquency record, he may be led astray by delinquent school companions.

To learn whether Oriental children live in good or bad neighborhoods and whether they attend good or bad schools, we spotted a map of the city to show the resi-

⁴ It is interesting to note that among Orientals the "repeater" is very rare.

dences of all juvenile delinquents having appeared before the Court during the period 1928-1936.⁵ We also marked the approximate boundaries of the Oriental districts of the city.⁶ The resulting map⁷ showed plainly that Oriental children live in areas of high delinquency and that, since children attend their neighborhood public school, they are enrolled in schools having bad delinquency records.⁸

Again, we know that delinquency often occurs among families of low social status in the community. In the foreign family, the contempt, hostility, and disapproval of the community may weaken the bond between parents and children, since the children are apt to feel ashamed of their parents with their alien talk, dress, customs, and

⁵ The number of individual delinquents, not the number of cases, is considered. Thus the residence of a delinquent is marked but once regardless of the number of convictions against him.

⁶ Districts determined on the basis of property occupied by Orientals, as given in the *Vancouver City Directory 1926-36*. These were checked in a survey by Mr. Frank Mah, who has had intimate contact with the settlements for many years.

⁷ A map correlating delinquency areas with Oriental areas was prepared and drawn by Mr. Mah.

⁸ Statistics obtained from the Juvenile Court and the Vancouver School Board's Bureau of Measurements provide the data to determine the delinquency rates of schools having a high proportion of Oriental children. These schools are Strathcona, Franklin, Central, Seymour, and recently Henry Hudson, Dawson, and Aberdeen. Just how great this proportion has become for some schools is shown by the fact that in 1912 Strathcona had 11 Orientals in a class of 51 students in Grade 1B. In 1935, in the same school and in the same grade, there were 92 Orientals in a class of 148. This school's total enrollment is 75 per cent Oriental. The Oriental attendance of Central and Franklin schools has doubled, and at Henry Hudson it has increased from 134 to 200 in the last eight years. (This growth is accounted for by their natural increase and not by immigration.)

<i>School Dist. No.</i>	<i>Schools included</i>	<i>General Del'cy Rate</i>	<i>Oriental</i>
4.	Strathcona	21.30	1.1
6.	Franklin, Hastings	11.87	.35
3.	Central	37.95	0.0
5.	Seymour	24.20	.1
11.	Henry Hudson	11.11	0.0
2.	Dawson, Aberdeen	29.97	.1

It is interesting to note, while comparing the general and Oriental delinquency rates, that Oriental and white children are seldom involved together in the same case. We have only one instance on record: in 1925, 11 Chinese boys and one white boy were involved in a bicycle theft.

manners. Too, discord may break out between parents and children caused by the conflicting traditions, ideals, and customs of the Old World and the New. Old World parents try to enforce their standards and conventions upon young families growing up in a new and different environment, the children react violently—disobedience, incorrigibility, and delinquency may result.

The status of the Oriental family in the white community is low. White tenants voice resentment when an Oriental settles down in the neighborhood; houses rented to Orientals can seldom be rented later to white families. Among the whites there is a feeling of superiority which often shows itself in the use of contemptuous language and nicknames—Chinks, Japs, monkey, monkey-talk. More vigorous animosity develops in times of general unemployment. In Vancouver the Orientals are, generally speaking, laborers, domestic and manual workers, market gardeners, restaurant keepers. White labor has time and again demanded their exclusion from Canada, and in 1908 feeling against the Oriental culminated in race riots. Anti-Oriental leagues formed, with over 500 members. White men and boys stormed the Oriental quarters, threw stones, smashed windows. Such active hostility has died down, but from time to time there is a demand that Oriental children be excluded from the public schools, the reasons stated being that these pupils impart immorality to the other children and that they endanger the latter's health, owing to trachoma and certain skin infections. As late as 1936, an Oriental exclusion movement reappeared as a resolution regarding the proposed extension of the franchise to Orientals.

Within the Oriental home there is, apparently, as yet, little conflict between parents and children. The children still submit with docility to customs strangely unlike those of the white community in which they live. Tra-

ditions of family control are still deeply entrenched—how deeply was recently impressed on me in a conversation with a local Chinese friend. This man, an outstanding business man whose grandfather and father I also know, in commenting on Chinese family control, remarked:

I am a married man, as you know, forty years of age. Yet before I go out tonight, I tell my father where I go, and what time I come home. If I am delayed, I telephone him why, and say what time I expect now to return.

Probably such discipline still exists in many Oriental families in Vancouver. Yet upon the Oriental, as upon the other immigrant groups, the pressure of the encircling alien culture bears hard though not, as yet, to the point of causing disastrous conflict between children and parents.

Briefly then, the situation is that the Oriental child in Vancouver is subjected to conditions which ordinarily result in delinquency, yet he is seldom delinquent. Why, then, is this good child good?

The explanation⁹ seems to lie in the strong family system of both China and Japan, which operates to control and dominate the individual. This family structure has its roots in the religious beliefs of the two nations, for it is based upon and entrenched by ancestor worship.

Inculcated in the children of both nations is an extraordinary respect for parents and elders, and a strong sense of responsibility for those younger. Obedience is demanded and obtained from younger children by older brothers and sisters; responsibility for those younger is placed upon and accepted by those older. This reverence on one side and responsibility on the other is carried up through the nation. Parents are responsible for families,

⁹ This explanation is the consensus of opinion of some 30 or more Orientals and whites in close contact with Orientals and Oriental children in Vancouver. The opinions were obtained by means of interviews and letters.

clans for clan families, provinces for clans. Among the Japanese, the onus is intensified by the teaching that, at the pinnacle of this pyramid, there stands the great figure of His Divine Majesty, the Emperor, the direct descendant of Amaratsu, the Sun Goddess,— who, in his turn, is responsible for his people and must revere his ancestors.

The closeness of this system and its effect on the child is apparent: the growing child is watched over and controlled by the whole family group. Oriental parents themselves are unremitting in their attention to the upbringing of their children, and many small incidents which, in a white family, might pass unheeded are scrutinized closely. Thus in speaking of small thefts of fruit and candy—the offense¹⁰ most common among our Oriental delinquents—a Chinese man and his sister-in-law explained to me:

Fruit or candy, things that can be eaten, are the only things Chinese child can steal. No use for boy to steal money or toy. If he have something new, he must tell who gave it, or where he got it. His mother asks: "Who gave that five cents?" or "Where you get that toy?"

They said that the child well knows that his mother will verify any statement—perhaps by politely thanking the alleged donor.

Family control is supplemented by the control of the national group. National consciousness draws these families together very closely, and the element of anonymity, which tempts the children and families of other immigrant nationalities to let down the bar of self-respect, is probably absent in the closely welded Oriental community. National pride also supports family discipline in an attempt to avoid giving offense to the white com-

¹⁰ In the list of offenses of the Oriental delinquents appearing in the Court during the period 1926-1936, crimes of violence, hold-up, and robbery are noticeably absent. The Juvenile Court of Seattle, Wash., also reports the absence of crimes of violence among its Oriental delinquents.

munity and to protect the good name of the group. Thus the freedom of the Oriental child is limited, the curtailment being actual as well as spiritual, for the Oriental children have little free time of their own. On Saturday mornings and after the hours of the regular public school, they must attend their national school, where they learn their native tongue, the codes of their nation, et cetera. This means that they spend a great part of their time under the direct supervision of teachers, and so have less opportunity for getting into mischief.

It seems, then, that the Oriental child is seldom delinquent because his life is supervised and controlled by his elders to an extent far beyond that of other immigrant white children; that we must attribute his goodness not to any natural virtue peculiar to his nationality, but to a strong family system that makes deviation from the path of righteousness difficult, to a religious belief that strengthens this family control, and to the effect of the national consciousness of a foreign group within the white community.

How long will this state of affairs exist? The Oriental-born and Canadian-born child of Oriental-born parents may respond to the national traditions for a time, but it is a question as to whether the Canadian-born children of Canadian-born parents will be content to continue alien customs, to speak an alien language, and to accept the exotic beliefs of their forebears in the different environment into which they are born and in which they live.

There are now Oriental families in Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster that have been here for three generations. They are still Oriental, as definitely Oriental as the whites who live for generations in the Orient are white. These Canadian-born descendants speak English fluently, are less at home with their native tongue,

know little of the land of their origin, do not expect to live in the Orient, but to continue living in the land of their birth. They wear Western clothing, live in Western style houses, use Western furniture. Frequently, however, they eat the Oriental style of meal. They keep the Western holidays, sometimes in conjunction with their own, celebrating, for example, both Oriental and Occidental New Year. They attend the public schools along with white children, and a number now go on to the University.¹¹ Among them, however, the Oriental customs regarding marriage still pertain. The elders arrange the marriage, and the modern generation apparently submits with good grace. Marriage is still a family affair and not based on individual preference. Here, again, the weight of the family is felt, for the ill-repute of any member affects the marital prospects of every member of the family.¹²

How long this superimposition of one national culture upon another can continue without revolt and turmoil is problematic. Fears for the future are expressed more or less openly by the elders of the Oriental families. They foresee the possible breakdown of the Oriental religious and family codes and are making definite attempts to avert it. This, they believe, can best be done by giving their children training based on Oriental ideals. To this

¹¹ In the public schools among the younger children, no great discrimination appears as to the nationality of playmates but a breach between East and West becomes apparent when the high school is reached.

¹² Quoting from Professor R. Adams, p. 49, *The People of Hawaii* (published by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1933): "the remarkably low rates for delinquency for Chinese and Japanese are most satisfactorily explained by reference to the persistence of the old country standard and to the fact that they are sufficiently numerous to maintain organization. According to the family custom of China and Japan, there is an investigation into the character of all the members of a family for several generations when marriages are arranged. To whatever extent the family has been disgraced by the criminal conduct of any of its members, the whole family suffers, so that its members cannot marry so advantageously. This brings the whole weight of family influences upon each member. He must so conduct himself as to reflect credit on his family."

end they have founded national schools¹³ which nearly all Oriental children attend after the hours of public school. Here the children are instructed in their own language, in Oriental ethics and morals, and in the history and geography of their land of origin. To strengthen the religious ties, Buddhist temples have been established,¹⁴ with priests brought from the Old Land and, within the fold of these, societies for young men and young women have been created.

It is doubtful whether these efforts to maintain the Oriental culture of the Canadian-born Oriental will succeed permanently. However, perhaps through them the chasm between Eastern and Western cultures may be bridged, and the period of transition passed through without the disaster that so often befalls other immigrant groups. At present, measured in terms of juvenile delinquency, the results of the maintenance of the Oriental family system appear beneficial. With the Canadianizing of the Oriental child, however, the system may break down, and we may finally witness the delinquency rates of these groups, now standing so low, more nearly approximating those of the whites by whom they are surrounded.

¹³ Occasional objection has been raised against these national schools on the ground that they may teach sedition.

¹⁴ Quoting from Rigenda Sumida, p. 132, "The Japanese in British Columbia," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1935: "In 1935 there were 4 Buddhist temples in Vancouver, with congregations totaling 3,370. In the same year there were 10,472 Japanese children attending Buddhist temples.

The 1931 census states that of the 13,011 Chinese in Vancouver City, 74 per cent were Buddhist or Confucian; of the 8,328 Japanese in Vancouver City, 70 per cent were Buddhist or Confucian."

PROGRESS AND DISEQUILIBRIUM

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The threat of "social chaos" has been hurled at a trembling world since the dawn of civilization. "Conflict" was born the twin of "co-operation," and the history of mankind has been the story of a vain struggle to achieve the perfect state. The role of the reformer has never lost its status, and the present crisis is but a trite repetition in the annals of the world.

Admittedly, there has never been a lack of panacean proposals based on the abstraction of a single factor represented to be the sole cause of human misery. The obvious instance suggests itself of the single tax of Henry George, or the even more sensational Townsend Plan. Without assuming the burden of proof, we think it can fairly be said to be agreed by thinking men that no single component of human activity can be taxed with the responsibility for all. To avoid superficiality, the search must be directed toward some universal aspect of social life.

The underlying cause of social disorder may be conveniently stated in the term disequilibrium, which, in turn, is due to the uneven advance in the ranks of progress in its inevitable sweep over human destiny as shown by Lester F. Ward, and further defined in the form of "culture lag" by William F. Ogburn.

Given the problem, we have stated our case. Now we shall attempt to present evidence that will clarify and illustrate. Moreover, there are always, even in the beginning, quarrels to be met, or preferably, avoided.

The first objection is likely to be one of terms. Progress, it will be said, cannot come into existence concomi-

tantly with disequilibrium, for the name of progress would thereby be forfeited. In order to steer clear of this most hopeless of sociological discussions we will ignore the net effect. It should be understood that the term progress as here used indicates a dynamic movement commonly recognized in its specific field as a forward step. Thus a machine that automatically picks grapes, stems, and presses them, et cetera, finally pouring out a luscious wine, would be hailed by certain manufacturing groups in France as undeniable progress, despite the cries of technological unemployment, or the complaints from prohibitionists.

Such a concept of progress will, we think, coincide with popular usage, for outside the realm of sociological discussion the term will be found most frequently in connection with a particular field of activity which the speaker has in mind. Moreover, such an interpretation will be the most useful for clarifying the basic idea that progress is not a broad and general movement sweeping over the whole field of human activity at a uniform pace, but is a series of distinct and specialized movements each proceeding at its own speed, as shown in Ward's analogy of the irregular front in a prairie fire's advance. Both within and between given spheres are found almost infinite variations of the rate of advance. The fact is simple and obvious, but its significance is subtle and immensely complex.

The simplest manner in which to grasp this significance is to postulate a hypothetical state in which there is no progress—a static condition with institutions, or factors within institutions, never changing relatively to each other. Here it is reasonable to assume that difficulties will not exist, for they would have been eliminated in the very beginning. Perfect adjustment (or the "most perfect" possible under the circumstances) will hold sway for ever and anon.

But this hypothesis offends our credulity; we are so acutely aware that all life has within it the tendency to unfold, to develop, to change, to advance. It would be more in keeping with our sense of logic, then, to postulate a still hypothetical state in which everything moves, but at an exactly uniform pace—a movement *en masse*. Now where is our disorder? Change has certainly occurred, but nothing has changed relatively to anything else. The adjustment made in the beginning is still maintained, and constant and automatic equilibrium holds forth.

But this is hypothesis! In reality we find that although every particle of life has within it the potentiality of development, each potentiality has its own dimensions. That is, every bit of life can unfold only to a certain extent and in a certain direction and at a certain speed, and all of these extents and directions and speeds will vary. This means that all things are constantly changing relatively to each other. Now of course, it is in varying relationships that we find the meaning and significance of life, but it is also in varying relationships that we find all of its difficulties. A moment's reflection will reveal that constant change of relationship means constant disorder, calling for readjustment. This disorder is termed disequilibrium. We forever strive toward equilibrium—we are forever in a state of disequilibrium!

What is law, for example, but a recognition of conflict, which, as we have seen, is rooted in disequilibrium. Law is an attempt to minimize the ravages of social disorder. But the vicious circle is inescapable, for even within this field, uneven progress has left its mark. Some laws are more progressive than others, and often the existence of the more antiquated statutes hinders the enforcement of newer ones. In different parts of the country laws are in a different stage of modernity, resulting in

nation-wide disorder. More important still, our statutes often lag far behind social and economic conditions sorely in need of legal action. Indeed, the necessarily cumbersome character of the legislative machine renders it inevitable that the need for reform must far antedate its enactment.¹

But, in keeping with the best sociological tradition, it is not our purpose here to set up comprehensive and airtight classifications. Admittedly, the suggested categories overlap and absorb each other; nevertheless they illustrate the existence of disorder due to lack of balance between social forces.

At this point it might be well to emphasize the word balance, particularly a moving balance or equilibrium, as did Ward in *Pure Sociology*, under the very caption, "Social Progress." Equilibrium does not, as might be supposed, necessarily require an equalizing of forces. It is impracticable to suggest that all human institutions should be kept advancing at exactly the same pace. Not only is this impossible, as has been shown above, but it would not be likely to result in the maximum of satisfaction, any more than an equal dose of flour, baking-powder, sugar, and salt would be calculated to produce the most palatable cake. The desideratum is rather to bring about for each social factor that rate of development which in relation to all other factors will most closely approximate a state of equilibrium. This may involve the speeding up of those factors that lag or even, occasionally, the slowing down of certain factors with which others could not possibly keep pace.

¹ In the closely allied field of government the serious lag between social conditions and proper legislation and administration is only too apparent. In fact, Ogburn used, in defining "culture lag," the delayed enactment of workmen's compensation laws, as a typical instance. Many other institutions in this country have reached a state of complexity calling for more centralized collective control long before those in power recognized the fact.

There are many today who refuse to recognize it; but who can deny the charge that educational standards have always failed to keep pace with social demands? Or that ethics is seldom in step with economic progress?

It is interesting to ponder how there can be so very many different explanations of the depression, each with an element of truth in it. Does not the answer lie in the fact that every theory is another aspect of the same underlying cause? Overproduction, underconsumption, inflation, wild speculation, shortage of the gold supply, international trade complications, technological unemployment—what is there in common to all of these?

Before drawing a conclusion in this matter, let us add to the list a new explanation of the latest economic crisis. In the economic as in all other fields, forces constantly tend to get out of balance with each other. This is because each of them develops at a different rate of speed and, consequently, their relationship is forever changing. In his effort to satiate his wants, man has tremendously increased his productivity. This has been chiefly accomplished through the improvement of machinery. The improvement of machinery has resulted in lowered costs of production. Now in order for the economic system under which man has recently been living to function smoothly, lowered costs should result in lower prices, or in higher wages. Thus, the savings effected by the machinery could be passed along to the public in the form of greater purchasing power enabling them to absorb the increased productivity. Otherwise, how could the greater amount of goods be distributed to those who can use them? Despite the theory, neither prices nor wages have kept pace with increased productivity. The increased margin between costs and price has gone largely to the capitalists and entrepreneurs, who, in turn, have churned it back into the purchase of more machinery from which to derive an even greater margin. Thus, because the balance between the productive and the distributive forces was disturbed, we had extreme overproduction or underconsumption, with their resultant business stagnation, unemployment, et cetera.

But there is another factor involved besides that of the quantity of goods, and this is the medium by which these goods are exchanged. The value of money is a very sensitive property, depending upon the amount of work it has to do (demand) and the amount of it in existence (supply). When demand and supply change relatively to each other (due to gold shortage, increased productivity, expansion of bank credit, and innumerable other reasons), the value will eventually readjust itself through a change in the price level. But this causes universal disorder. International exchanges are upset, business slows down because of uncertainty, certain classes profit at the expense of others, and the culmination of it all is depression.²

Now all of this theorizing on depression has a familiar ring, and is easily identified with the overproduction, underconsumption, inflation, wild speculation, shortage of the gold supply, international trade complications, and technological unemployment explanations already mentioned. But what we would emphasize here is the tying of them together by a common thread—the insistence that they are all different aspects of a more fundamental cause. Unilateral, cause-and-effect reasoning does not stand the test of analysis, for disequilibrium is found in the relationship of everything to everything else—in the “uneven advance in the ranks of progress in her inevitable sweep over human destiny.”

In conclusion, we are naturally interested in the significance of our analysis for social reform. It should be

² There are still more factors—too many to enumerate. For example, certain industries improve their productive methods more rapidly than others, and even certain units of a single industry more rapidly than other units. The result is that some are forced into bankruptcy through competition, thus adding strength to the force of depression. Or perhaps the same tragic end will be brought about by legislative restrictions based upon the state of the more advanced industries, but too stringent for the weaker units. For example, minimum wage or maximum hour laws may prove too costly for marginal producers. Granted that in the long run their demise is a social gain, at the time it certainly contributes to general maladjustment.

emphasized, however, that sociology, like economics, is primarily analytic. Its study reveals alternatives, but does not dictate ways and means, or even, always, the goal. Nevertheless, it is basic to the grasp of the problem which must precede remedial action. For this reason the theory of disequilibrium is of interest for the social reformer.

First, it forcefully debunks the notion of panaceas and Utopias. The problem has been revealed as that of constant supervision and readjustment to keep pace with perpetual change. Obviously, there can be no lasting cure-all; for not only do the various factors require individual adjustment, but this adjustment must forever change. The first requisite of social control is flexibility.

And perhaps the second requirement is that of moderation. In attempting to accelerate the rate of development, a reformer must avoid too sudden a change. The maintenance of equilibrium requires a balancing of advancing forces, and too rapid a movement may destroy this balance just as easily as too slow a pace. The remedy must be at least no worse than the ill.

The analysis of disequilibrium facilitates the relegation to their proper and narrower spheres of many current isms. For obviously under communism, socialism, or Fascism institutions continue to develop at varying paces and the problem of disequilibrium is as persistent as ever. It is apparent that the particular economic system is merely the working apparatus for coping with this hydra-headed difficulty.

Possibly our analysis points in the direction of national planning. It may be because of its automatic nature that our present system has failed to maintain equilibrium; it lacks the arbitrary authority to bring about needed readjustments. Perhaps human nature, functioning individually, cannot be depended upon to work out its own salvation, and the added force of collective judgment and enforcement is necessary.

SECOND GENERATION FILIPINOS IN LOS ANGELES

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Since Los Angeles is perhaps the largest Filipino "city" in the United States, the rise of a second generation here is natural. A study of the second generation is in order while these children are yet small. The Filipino male parents are composed of different racial elements and they are geographically identified as "Ilocanos," "Tagalogs," and "Visayans." Of course, there are more racial groupings, but the three groups represent the largest part of the Filipino population in Los Angeles. The term "Filipino," therefore, is to an extent a political name and a factor of social nearness among the three groups. The racial composition of the Filipino mothers is more complex than that of the male parents. They represent a variety of racial and cultural groups such as: Ilocanas, Tagalas, Visayans, Mexicans, Spanish, Americans, Germans, Jews, Polish, Spanish Mestizas, Polish-Ilocanas, Mulattas, Japanese, and "Whites."¹ This is not a physiological or psychological study. It aims to give a photographic glimpse of the second-generation Filipinos in their sociological aspects.

Three tables are presented as aids in understanding the second generation. It must be understood at the outset that they are merely introductory means for interpretation and they should not be taken as ends in themselves. Table I portrays the composition of Filipino married population in Los Angeles as of June, 1937. Table II

¹ "Whites" refer chiefly to Swedish, Russians, English, and Irish. National identity was not fully ascertained when the data were gathered.

portrays the composition of the second generation both of whose parents are of Filipino birth. Table III also gives another glimpse of the second generation, but this time of those whose parents are composed of Filipino and foreign elements.

The left side of Table I indicates the racial composi-

TABLE I
COMPOSITION OF FILIPINO MARRIED POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES
JUNE, 1937

<i>Parents with Children</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>No. of Children</i>			<i>Couples with- out Children</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>To- tal</i>
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>			
Tagalog-Tagala	12	14	11	25	Ilocana-Mexican	5	17
Ilocano-Ilocana	6	7	4	11	Ilocano-American	4	10
Ilocano-Mexican	6	6	6	12	Ilocano-White	4	10
Ilocano-Mulatta	4	2	4	6	Ilocano-Mulatta	4	8
Ilocano-American	3	1	4	5	Visayan-Visaya	3	6
Tagalog-American	3	3	4	7	Tagalog-Tagala	2	5
Visayan-Mexican	3	5	3	8	Ilocano-Polish	2	5
Visayan-White	3	3	3	6	Ilocano-Ilocana	1	4
Ilocano-Spanish	3	6	..	6	Tagalog-American	1	4
Ilocano-White	2	1	3	4	Visayan-Mexican	1	3
Ilocano-Tagala	2	4	2	6	Visayan-White	1	3
Visayan-American	2	1	3	4	Ilocano-Tagala	1	3
Visayan-Visaya	1	5	..	5	Visayan-American	1	2
Visayan-Mulatta	1	1	2	3	Visayan-Mulatta	1	2
Tagalog-Mexican	1	2	1	3	Visayan-Japanese	1	2
Tagalog-Polish	1	1	1	2	Visayan-Jew	1	2
Ilocano-Polish	1	1	..	1	Tagalog-White	1	2
Visayan-Japanese	1	..	1	1	....	..	1
Ilocano-German	1	..	1	1	....	..	1
Ilocano-Jew	1	1	..	1	....	..	1
Tagalog-Ilocana	1	1	..	1	....	..	1
Tagalog-Spanish	1	..	1	1	....	..	1
Visayan-Spanish							
Mestiza	1	1	..	1	....	..	1
Visayan-Polish-							
Ilocana	1	1	..	1	....	..	1
GRAND TOTAL	61	67	54	121		34	95

tion of parents with children and in each instance gives the number of children. At the right the racial composition of husbands and wives without children and their numbers are given. In the column to the extreme right will be found the total number of parents—parents with children and married persons without children. Of the parents with children there is a total of 61, with 121 children, 67 boys and 54 girls. Of the persons without children, the total is 34. The grand total studied is 95.²

Among the parents with children the Tagalog-Tagala parents rank the highest in number, which is twelve, the Ilocano-Ilocana parents second, which is six, and so on down. Of the husbands and wives without children, the Ilocano-Mexicans rank the highest, which is five; the Ilocano-American, Ilocano-White, and Ilocano-Mulatta have the same score and tie for second place.

The Filipino married population in Los Angeles as shown in Table I is comprised of 64 per cent of parents with children and 36 per cent of childless couples. Many of the latter have been married recently and may be expected later to move into the "parental" column.

TABLE II
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SECOND GENERATION FILIPINOS WHOSE
PARENTS ARE PHILIPPINE BORN
JUNE, 1937

<i>Parental Combination</i>	<i>No. of Parents</i>	<i>No. of Boys</i>	<i>No. of Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>
Tagalog-Tagala	12	14	11	25	52 +
Ilocano-Ilocana	6	7	4	11	23 +
Ilocano-Tagala	2	4	2	6	13 +
Visayan-Visaya	1	5	....	5	11 +
Tagalog-Ilocana	1	1	....	1	.02+
TOTALS	22	31	17	48	

² Many of these parents are given occasional home visits by representatives of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship of Los Angeles, 306 Winston Street, Los Angeles.

By Table II it will be seen that there are 48 children whose parents totaling 22 were Filipinos born in the Islands. There are 31 boys and 17 girls—the boys number almost twice as many as there are girls or a two-to-one ratio. This unusual situation indicates a problem for further investigation. Children of Tagalog-Tagala percentage rank highest in number among the children whose parents are all born in the Islands. That is, twelve Tagalog-Tagala parents produce 52 per cent of the total number of children whose parents are all Philippine

TABLE III

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SECOND GENERATION FILIPINOS WHOSE PARENTS ARE FILIPINO-FOREIGN
JUNE, 1937

<i>Parental Combination</i>	<i>No. of Parents</i>	<i>No. of Boys</i>	<i>No. of Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Ilocano-Mexican	6	6	6	12	16.4
Visayan-Mexican	3	5	3	8	10.9
Tagalog-American	3	3	4	7	9.5
Ilocano-Spanish	3	6	—	6	8.2
Visayan-White	3	3	3	6	8.2
Ilocano-Mulatta	4	2	4	6	8.2
Ilocano-American	3	1	4	5	6.8 +
Ilocano-White	2	1	3	4	5.4 +
Visayan-American	2	1	3	4	5.4 +
Tagalog-Mexican	1	2	1	3	4.1
Visayan-Mulatta	1	1	2	3	4.1
Tagalog-Polish	1	1	1	2	2.7
Ilocano-German	1	1	—	1	1.3 +
Ilocano-Polish	1	1	—	1	1.3
Ilocano-Jew	1	1	—	1	1.3
Tagalog-Spanish	1	—	1	1	1.3
Visayan-Spanish Mestiza	1	1	—	1	1.3
Visayan-Polish-Ilocana	1	1	—	1	1.3
Visayan-Japanese	1	—	1	1	1.3
GRAND TOTAL	39	37	36	73	100.

born. Six Ilocano-Ilocana parents produce 23 per cent, two Ilocano-Tagala parents produce 13 per cent. On the whole 22 Philippine-born parents have 48 children or

an average of two children per family. This average, however, may be expected to increase inasmuch as most of the parents are young or still within the child-bearing ages.

Table III gives a different picture from that of Table II. Out of the 73 children, there are 37 boys and 36 girls or a normal one-to-one distribution, as compared with Table II where a two-to-one ratio of boys to girls is shown.

Out of the 39 mixed marriages, there is a little less than an average of two children per family. The Ilocano-Mexican parents furnish 16.4 per cent of the children; the Visayan-Mexican parents contribute 10.9 per cent of the children; while 9.5 per cent of the children are of the Tagalog-American origin.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In this preliminary analysis of the second-generation Filipinos, 95 married couples were studied. There were 61 parents with 121 children, 67 boys and 54 girls. There were 34 couples who as yet are without children.

2. As shown in Table I, there is a shortage of girls. While this shortage is difficult to explain, it foreshadows a social problem.

3. There will be an intense rivalry among the boys in seeking Filipina wives, or they will seek to marry members of other races.

4. Among the mixed marriages the distribution of girls to boys is almost even, and thus the foundations are being laid for a more normal type of family life.

5. Because of the growing number of the second generation, there is a possibility of building a Filipino community wherein a "we feeling" exists not only among the children but also among their parents.

6. As more Filipinos marry and as they develop a stable married life and raise children it is to be hoped

that the prejudice of Americans toward Filipinos will decrease. As more liberal attitudes toward Filipinos develop, the restrictions which they now experience may be removed.

7. To the extent that the second generation possess potentialities they should be given reasonable opportunities for growth and development and should become assets to the community wherein they will live. A private endowment to aid in the development of second-generation Filipino children and of a Filipino community life is needed.

THE MOBILITY OF EMINENT MEN

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In as brief a treatment as possible, it is proposed in what follows to summarize the state of knowledge of the geographical mobility of persons who are prominent by reason of positive contributions to some phase of social life. By geographical mobility in this connection is meant change in the position of an object, which, by implication, means change in the relationship of the object to other objects.¹ In turn, the facts concerning mobility in childhood of those who have become leaders, and the mobility of eminent men during the adult period, will be recounted and an interpretation made in terms of movement toward and away from locations of greater or less favorability to social prominence. Throughout the article some attention will be given also to the relationship between geographical and social mobility.

Mobility of eminent men in childhood. There is little evidence on the mobility of eminent men in childhood, or on the mobility of the parents of eminent men, from which the childhood mobility of eminent persons might be inferred. There are, however, a few facts that are worth reviewing. In the first place, eminent men as a group have had superior opportunities for travel,² for the most part because of the superior wealth, social status, and education of their families and the association with those who customarily engage in extensive travel in their

¹ Social mobility, as the term has come to be understood, is fundamentally different in meaning, because when complete it involves a process of the breaking of old and the forming of new social relationships. Geographical mobility, as is well understood, does not necessarily produce social mobility, although it increases the opportunity for such movement and makes it difficult to avoid.

² Cf. Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, New York, 1926, revised edition.

native country as well as in foreign lands. At the same time, wholesale uprooting of the individual's system of social relationships is quite uncommon among prominent people. Even among outstanding men of genius this is a rare occurrence. This suggests that certain kinds of mobility in childhood are helpful, while certain types of stability are equally desirable. It is probable that geographical mobility, exhibited in travel, is an asset, while change in social relationships involved in sharp breaks with original social groups may be a serious handicap, especially if those groups were helpful to social recognition or to achievement.

It is obvious that upward and downward movements in social status have antagonistic effects. Upward movement of the child's family tends to be an aid to him, while downward movement is almost certain to be a handicap. Any rise in the social scale in one sense tends to be an asset and in another tends to be a liability, since social movement involves the formation of new social relationships and upward movement is always a help. If the rise is small, the asset and liability values may counteract each other, and neither a gain nor a loss will result. The vertical change must be great enough to offset the handicap of the process of breaking and re-establishing an influence over associates. On the other hand, a downward movement has the handicapping effect of the break of social relationships combined with a loss of prestige. Such a change is a distinct obstacle to social recognition.

In general, it is true that social mobility is a handicap to achievement, leadership, and social recognition at any age, and a great deal of social mobility in childhood serves to some extent as a handicap to the person's chances for achievement and recognition later in life. The disastrous aspects are illustrated by many a delinquent, criminal, and ne'er-do-well whose father and family were

drifters and who consequently has never been able to make permanent adjustments to conditions in an ordinary community. The child of extremely mobile parents is generally handicapped by poverty, low occupational status, lack of intellectual and educational advantages, and absence of constructive types of associates. Such a person is illustrated in Sherwood Anderson's *Tar*. Groups composed of those who spend many months as automobile gypsies or whose lives are spent on canal boats are other excellent examples.³ In most cases only very superior ability is likely to overcome the disadvantages of mobility, and even then success will probably demand complete escape from the influence of, and association with, the family. To be sure, it is conceivable that where the family situation is almost wholly unsatisfactory mobility may give the child opportunity for improved social contacts, for rise in status, or other opportunities; and the child of wealthy travelers who were also attentive and capable parents might be well tutored and well adjusted socially in spite of, and partly because of, a changing scene. But these two types of cases are exceptional.

There are perhaps other instances where the mobile family situation stimulates a child with superior intellect to achieve more than his parents did. The lack of security may urge him to unusual endeavor, or a compensatory pattern of personality might be so thoroughly impressed upon him that he is able to forge ahead rapidly and far. At the same time, children who obtain advantageous effects as a result of family mobility are likely to be fewer than those who are handicapped by parental mobility and who are aided by parental stability.

³ Cf. Hugh Gordon, "Mental and Scholastic Tests among Retarded Children," Great Britain Board of Education, *Educational Pamphlets*, No. 44, 1923. This study is of "canal boat children," whose constant geographical mobility and consequent lack of strong bonds with ordinary folkways have resulted in educational backwardness, as well as in other severe handicaps to success according to the standards of other social groups.

Geographical mobility of eminent men. There is probably very little difference between the effect of mobility upon adults and upon children. If travel is more prevalent for children who develop into eminent men than it is for average children, then we might expect the same thing to be true of adults. In this connection De Candolle mentioned as one of the significant causes of the high national productivity of eminent scientific men the habit of traveling, and especially of sojourning abroad.⁴ And Ellis found that 371 of the most prominent English men of genius had spent some period of time abroad.⁵

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF VARIOUS GROUPS RESIDING AND NOT RESIDING IN THE SAME STATE OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH⁶

GROUP STUDIED	Percentage Residing in State or Country of Birth	Percentage Not Residing in State or Country of Birth
Population of the United States 1900	67.2	32.8
Farmer Leaders of the United States	22.9	77.1
Labor Leaders of the United States		
All Leaders	25.3	74.7
Chief Leaders	13.4	86.6
Notables in <i>Who's Who in America</i>	32.5	67.5
Labor Leaders in Foreign Countries	71.5	28.3
Population of Europe	98 to 86	2 to 14

In the case of eminent men, however, statistical evidence is available on some forms of mobility that were not mentioned in the case of children. First, there are changes in the place of residence. Table I, which presents data showing the proportion of eminent men who resided in the same state or country of birth and the pro-

⁴ A. de Candolle, *Histoire des sciences et des savants*, Geneva, 1885, p. 441.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁶ P. A. Sorokin, "Leadership and Geographical Mobility," *Sociology and Social Research*, 12:122.

portion who resided in other states or countries, shows a higher rate of mobility for most types of eminent men than for the total population with which groups of eminent men are compared. Many of the other studies of regional distribution of eminent men have also demonstrated the existence of a great amount of mobility of eminent men from one place of residence to another.⁷ There is little evidence opposed to this. Gee, in his study of master farmers of eight southern states, found a smaller degree of mobility than among farmers in general. The average number of movements within the community was .63; the average number outside the community was only .8; and the average length of residence on the same farm was 25 years for the entire group.⁸

In spite of the preponderance of evidence on the side of mobility, there is good reason to say that all varieties of spatial mobility are not positively associated with eminence. For example, change of residence from one country to another is generally a handicap to eminence. Native-born Americans have more than twice as good a chance to be included in *Who's Who in America* than have foreign-born residents of the country.⁹ Other factors

⁷ E. Huntington and L. F. Whitney, *The Builders of America*, New York, 1927; J. M. Cattell, "A Statistical Study of American Men of Science," *Science*, N.S., 24:658-65, 699-707, 732-42, and "A Further Statistical Study of American Men of Science," *Science*, N.S., 32:633-48, 672-88; S. Nearing, "The Geographical Distribution of American Genius," *Popular Science Monthly*, 85:189-99, and "The Younger Generation of American Genius," *Scientific Monthly*, 2:48-61; S. S. Visser, "A Study of the Type of Place and Birth and of the Occupation of Fathers of Subjects of Sketches in *Who's Who in America*," *American Journal of Sociology*, 30:551-57, and "The Geography of American Notables," *Indiana University Studies*, XV, 1928; E. H. Lott, "Rural Contribution to Urban Leadership in Montana," *Montana State Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 262, May, 1932; S. Winston, "The Migration and Distribution of Negro Leaders in the United States," *Social Forces*, 10:243-55, and "The Mobility of Eminent Americans," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:624-34; R. M. Pearce, "Analysis of the Medical Group in Cattell's 1,000 Leading Men of Science," *Science*, 42: 264-78; and H. H. Punke, "Distribution and Migration of Persons Listed in *Who's Who* as Compared with the General Population," *Social Forces*, 14:173-80.

⁸ W. Gee, *The Social Economics of Agriculture*, New York, 1932, p. 461.

⁹ Mapheus Smith, "National Origins of Prominent Americans," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20:422-31. Also see S. S. Visser, "Geography of American Mayors," *Scientific Monthly*, 31:40-42.

complicate any study of nativity and eminence, but conditions entirely independent of nativity differences do not account for this wide disparity. Also, spatial mobility plus change of residence is probably an assent only for those who are born away from the centers where most notable persons perform their peculiar social functions.

Mobility very likely is not a cause of eminence, and capacity for eminence does not cause mobility. Mobility may help great men up to a certain point, but it is not the *sine qua non* to attainment of eminence.¹⁰ Also it is rarely or never a factor which, added to an entirely equal configuration of other characteristics, makes of a certain individual an eminent man.

One other point deserves a comment here. Lott found that prominent men who migrated to cities did so at an earlier age than did their fathers who never attained eminence.¹¹ This probably means that eminence depends upon a longer period of association with urban environmental factors than does a smaller degree of social recognition and that early movement to a superior environment enabled the persons to overcome handicaps of movement. The city is a favorable place of residence for potentially eminent men, but it is only very favorable for those who move to it at a fairly early age, or who at least establish secure relationships with the elements within cities that are responsible for social recognition.

Types of eminent men and mobility. There are some differences between the various fields of eminence in regard to the importance of mobility. About the same percentage of farmer leaders and labor and radical leaders reside in a state or country different from that of their birth,¹² but notable Americans in general do not show quite as much movement. The amount of foreign travel

¹⁰ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹¹ E. H. Lott, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹² Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

of scientists and other intellectual leaders is greater than that for politicians and leaders in other practical pursuits.¹³ Master farmers also show little spatial mobility.¹⁴ Apparently, then, those men whose eminence depends upon place identification, including farmers, politicians, and, to a certain extent, business men, exhibit somewhat less spatial mobility than do the artistic and intellectual leaders, who are much less closely identified with any specific spatial locus. On the other hand, there is very little or no difference in occupational mobility from one field of eminence to another. Artists and authors as a group are very similar to merchants and manufacturers as a group.¹⁵ And there is no great difference between these groups, on the one hand, and scientists and nationally prominent farm leaders, on the other hand.¹⁶ Professional and business leaders also average almost exactly the same number of positions held. Master farmers, however, are much less mobile than nationally prominent agricultural leaders.¹⁷

There thus is a considerable degree of variability among the representatives of different occupations and fields of endeavor in spatial mobility, and at least a slight amount in occupational mobility. The greater similarity of the fields between which mobility occurs in the latter case is undoubtedly due to the practically universal handicap of occupational mobility upon chances for superior social recognition. And the wide variation among fields of eminence in the amount of spatial mobility is probably

¹³ De Candolle, *op. cit.*, p. 411, and Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 133, compared with Visser, "Geography of American Mayors," pp. 40-42.

¹⁴ Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

¹⁵ E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men*, New York, 1927, revised edition, pp. 331-32.

¹⁶ Cf. Poffenberger, "The Development of Men of Science," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1:31-47; R. M. Pearce, "Analysis of a Medical Group in Cattell's 1,000 Leading Men of Science," *Science*, 42:264-78; Sorokin, *et al.*, "Farmer Leaders in the United States of America," *Social Forces*, 7:43.

¹⁷ Lott, *op. cit.*, p. 39; O. Hamer, "American Master Farmers and Education," *University of Iowa Studies of Education*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1930, pp. 19-20.

due to differences in the relative importance of primary and secondary means of appeal to persons who are responsible for superior social recognition. The intellectual and artistic leaders lead by virtue of works produced and communicated either by secondary or by material means, for example, in printed form, or as pictures, statues, buildings, while those who lead in practical pursuits do so by reason of personal attention to their constituents, their employees, and their followers. The nature of the contact between a leader and his followers determines the limits of spatial mobility beyond which the leader's influence suffers.

Locus of greatest opportunity for eminence and mobility. In order to discuss the relationship between eminence and mobility-stability in its most general form, some general point of reference must be discovered. This exists in the idea of a general position which is most favorable for eminence and which must be moved toward in order to obtain, or retained in order to obtain or retain superior social recognition. Should such a position exist, it still would not be possible to say that mobility would be necessary for all cases or that stability would be necessary for all cases. But it would at least be possible to locate a position which would have a relatively deterministic effect upon the eminence of each individual. Such a locus would at least approach for eminence what the throne of God is to a believer in God. Every question of stability and mobility of eminent men could be answered in terms of the relationship between this position most favorable for eminence and the position in which the eminent person existed at any one time. If a potentially eminent person were not in the most favorable locus for eminence, mobility would be necessary; and if the person in question were already in the most favorable position any mobility would constitute a handicap to recognition.

The available data on the mobility of eminent men are not adequate for a thorough testing of this interpretation of mobility in terms of relationship between the position of the eminent man at any one time and the speed and direction of his mobility. But no existing data are opposed to the theory. The handicapping effects of the mobility of children, and of downward movement in social status, as well as the beneficial effects of travel, and of mobility to important urban centers clearly substantiate the interpretation. Even the data that appear to controvert the theory actually do not. The greater than average change of state and country of residence of eminent men may be interpreted as one which gives them an advantage in the form of opportunity to escape a more unfavorable situation and to gain superior chances for achievement and recognition. The greater mobility of the most prominent people may also be explained on the basis of the need for mobility if the original position is not favorable, plus the chance factor that makes an individual give several occupations a trial before he becomes adjusted to any. The association of degree of prominence with amount of mobility and elapsed time since holding the first position also can be explained in terms of unfavorable original occupation, and a tendency to shift until a favorable one is obtained.

It is obvious that a great deal more research will be needed before anything like adequate conclusions can be arrived at concerning any aspect of geographical mobility of prominent people. The movements that are important for study have in most instances hardly been considered. They include those from one nation to another, those from region to region, those from community to community, and those from rural to urban communities and *vice versa*. Other questions dependent on geographical mobility include the relative importance of permanent

change of residence compared with travel, with temporary change of residence, and with repeated movement between place of residence, place of employment, and place of amusement. Each of these varieties of movement probably has a different effect upon the character of human contacts, associations, and the organization of society. Measurements of speed and distance of movement are also desirable, as is a study of the sequence and arrangement of movements from the initial to the final instance in the career of the representative prominent person. Another matter deserving of study is the pattern of conditions under which movement is an aid and under which it is a handicap to persons of this class. The period of the individual's career is very likely of importance in this connection. And the relationship of all these facts to fields of eminence deserves further study. Even then the problems are far from exhausted. As investigation proceeds, to further which, after all, is the ultimate purpose of this review, other important unanswered questions must inevitably arise.

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND ITS PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS*

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Social distance is a concept for interpreting social life and for throwing light on the causes of social problems. It illuminates the nature of the countless human interactions which characterize our daily living. It refers, for example, to the degrees of sympathetic understanding that operate between any two persons. In this form it may be called personal distance. A second type of social distance is found in the degrees of sympathetic understanding that obtain between a person and each of the social groups of which he is a member. This is personal-group distance. In the third place there are the degrees of sympathetic understanding that operate between any two social groups. This is group distance. Each person, therefore, continually plays a three-fold social distance role: one, as person to person; two, as person to social group; and three, as a member of a group in its relations to other groups.

A small degree of social distance is social closeness or nearness. It implies a great deal of sympathetic understanding. A large degree of social distance may be called social remoteness or farness; it suggests little or no sympathetic understanding. Great social distance or social farness is well illustrated in an epitaph for a certain politician. It read:

Here, richly, with ridiculous display,
The Politician's corpse was laid away.
While all of his acquaintances sneered and stanged,
I wept: for I had longed to see him hanged.

* Fifth Annual Research Lecture, School of Research, The University of Southern California, December 8, 1937, and printed in *Sociology and Social Research* at the request of Dean Rockwell D. Hunt, Director of the School of Research.

The concept has been casually referred to by a number of scholars extending as far back as Mo Ti, an able Chinese philosopher of the fifth century B.C. Gabriel Tarde, a French magistrate and philosopher, made reference (1890) to social distance; Georg Simmel, German social philosopher, made use of the term in his *Soziologie* (1908); while Park and Burgess in the United States gave the concept recognition (1921) in their *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*.

The writer first began experimental work, using the concept of social distance as a research tool in 1925, when he was a regional director of the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, of which Dr. Park was the Pacific Coast director.

Graduate students of The University of Southern California and elsewhere have found the concept of social distance and the scale for measuring social distance of considerable interest. In the field of parent-child distance, Meyer F. Nimkoff examined the parent-distances of 1,336 boys and of 1,336 girls.¹ He studied parental distance in terms of confiding in parents, of following parental suggestions, and of enjoying leisure time with parents. Dr. Nimkoff found, for instance, that 15 per cent more of the girls than of the boys enjoyed nearness with their mothers, and that 6 per cent more of the girls than of the boys indicated nearness to their fathers. Moreover, the study shows that 65 per cent of the boys expressed nearness toward their fathers and 72 per cent of them indicated nearness toward their mothers. Of the daughters, 71 per cent indicated nearness toward their fathers while 87 per cent indicated nearness toward their mothers. Individual daughters expressed a closer degree of nearness toward their parents and also greater farness toward their parents than did individual sons. Thus, "the behav-

¹ "Parent-Child Conflict," *Sociology and Social Research*, 13:446-58; 14:135-50.

ior of sons with regard to their parents is more uniform and consistent than that of daughters."

Eight years later a related parent-child distance study was made by another of our doctoral graduates, E. W. DuVall, now an assistant professor at Temple University.² This study included 458 boys and girls ranging from twelve to seventeen years of age. One half lived in the All Nations Area on the East Side in Los Angeles, and were underprivileged boys and girls. The other half of the group had normal privileges. It was found that the underprivileged children were not so socially near to their parents as were the normal children to theirs. The index of their nearness to their parents was 83 per cent of the nearness of the normal children to their parents. Foreign-born children were about 89 per cent as near to their parents as were native-born children. Underprivileged children evaluated parental disciplinary methods as "too strict," while the normal children frequently judged that their parents were "too easy." Fathers were considered "too easy" more often by underprivileged children than were the mothers. The younger children showed greater nearness to their parents than was manifested by the older children. Distance develops somewhat faster between youth and fathers than between youth and mothers. There was a fairly consistent decrease in social nearness "as the age of the children advanced—a rank-difference correlation of .76 with a probable error of $\pm .15$ was obtained between the ages of the children and the index for both parents." The oldest child in underprivileged families is closer to his parents than are the other children in the same families. The oldest child in such an underprivileged family shares with his parents the care of younger children and thereby develops greater nearness to his parents than is usual. On the other hand,

² "Child-Parent Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21:458-63.

among the normal families the youngest child is closest to his parents. The parents have more time and participation to offer him.

Complete sympathetic understanding never exists between any two persons; moreover, there is always the possibility of distance arising between them at any time. The only possible exception may be found in the early years of identical twins. Although biologically attuned to each other, identical twins begin rather early in life to meet with dissimilar experiences, to develop different behavior patterns, and to grow apart. Although temperaments may be similar, differences in experiences will ultimately give rise through the process of conditioning to some degree of distance.

At this point the practical question may be asked: is complete sympathetic understanding between any two persons an ideal relationship? The answer seems to be no. The weaknesses in such a condition are at least six. (1) Each person is so close to the other that neither sees the other in true or complete perspective. One can be so close to a mountain that it looks like a mere rise in ground. (2) The nearness may cause one or the other to grow careless in manner and simple courtesy toward the other. (3) Nearness may even lead one person to exaggerate the defects in the other. Too much nearness sometimes results in a loss of mutual respect. (4) Nearness may lead one person to grow tired of another. Each may cease to appreciate the other's good points. (5) One person may be so like another that neither offers a real stimulus to the other. The result is mutual retrogression. (6) Too great nearness may mean that each becomes so satisfied with the other that together they form a clique and neglect other worthy friendships. A social distance hypothesis may be advanced here, namely: a limited degree of social distance is necessary for the maintenance of stimulating human relationships.

If chums or pals represent the greatest degree of nearness compatible with the maintenance of friendship, then a study of the degrees of similarity of chums may be significant. In a preliminary study of this point published in 1936, it was found that the members of each pair of 300 pairs of chums were similar to each other in a grand total of 2,962 of their behavior traits, and dissimilar in a grand total of 1,484 traits.³ The proportion of similarities to dissimilarities was two to one. In other words a pair of chums is composed of two persons who are similar in 66 per cent of their behavior and dissimilar in 33 per cent. Thus, chumships or closest friendships seem to require that two-thirds of the behavior traits be similar and one third dissimilar. Similarity provides understanding and dissimilarity offers stimulation.

Upon further examination of the 4,456 behavior traits of 300 pairs of chums it was observed that an average pair of chums are 88 per cent alike in their standards and ideals, but only 65 per cent alike in matters such as fondness for children, in going to church, and in studying; and only fifty per cent alike in their hobbies, in their reading habits, and in shopping habits. A great deal of nearness in basic considerations such as standards and ideals, accompanied by considerable distance in lesser important but yet vital affairs, seems to be the norm for the maintenance of close friendships.

In rating selected major personal relationships of life in terms of social nearness, Mapheus Smith of the University of Kansas has found that marriage represents the greatest nearness, that chumship or palship comes second in nearness, membership in the same fraternity third, and partnership in business fourth.⁴ Residents in the same neighborhood and students in the same college come sixth

³ Ruth Bogardus and Phyllis Otto, "Social Psychology of Chums," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20:260-70.

⁴ "Degrees of Social Intimacy," *Sociology and Social Research*, 17:324-30.

and seventh, respectively. Residents in the same city come twelfth and residents in the same country are thirteenth. Hence, social distance between the residents of the same city is about the same as between residents of the same nation.

We may now ask: what are the factors that ordinarily explain social farness between persons. Four may be cited. (1) Differences in temperament and biological make-up. These differences are very difficult to bridge when they are expressed emotionally and become fixed in deep-seated sentiments. (2) Adverse sensory reactions having physiological origins. That which appeals to one person's taste may drive another mad. (3) Differences in culture patterns which prevent one person from understanding another. (4) Lack of acquaintance and knowledge. You cannot hope to understand the person who is a stranger to you.⁵

Supplementing these four original or primary causes of social farness between persons are five secondary factors which often transform social nearness situations into farness ones. (1) Where familiarity breeds contempt and hence farness. (2) Where nearness is based on only a few similarities of personality and on many differences. (3) Even where differences in personality are few, these may wreck a friendship unless both parties have learned to respect each other's "peculiarities" or have agreed to ignore them; otherwise a deadly teasing or nagging is likely to set in. (4) Social nearness may be wrecked when one friend competes successfully for what the other values highly, and loses. Competition is a far-reaching factor in creating farness. (5) The most melodramatic factor in destroying nearness is to have one party prove untrue to a mutual relationship through falsehood, hypocrisy, or vanity.

⁵ Simmel, the German sociologist, has published (1908) the best available statement on the sociology of the stranger or of being a stranger.

The maintenance of a wholesome degree of personal nearness requires constant, careful attention to the central elements of character, such as sincerity and reliability, to little details, such as the finer courtesies of life, and to delightful surprises involving evidences of appreciation. Unless social nearness receives continued thoughtful attention by both individuals concerned they may drift or slide into great distance.

On the other hand, when does a marked degree of distance change into nearness? Usually the process is slow, often very slow. As a rule a long series of actions sincerely performed is necessary before a stranger obtains admission into an inner circle of friends. Occasionally an exception occurs, as in the case of romantic love at first sight.

Literature is full of personal distance studies. From Sinclair Lewis to Shakespeare, literary efforts are replete with dramatic changes in social distance. In *Main Street* the two chief characters come together temporarily in marriage but presently fall apart when each ceases to cover up antecedent differences in culture and in ideals. The townspeople of Gopher Prairie and the Swedish farmer folk out in the country get along together until at a baby show one of the Swedish babies takes the first prize over all the babies of the proud city parents. Thereupon the city people call the farmers "a covey of rhinoceroses." The Swedish farmers promptly retort that the urbanites of Gopher Prairie are "dirty snobs." Social farness reigns, where previously social nearness had been developing. Successful competition on the part of the farmers in a minor matter, and a resultant loss of status on the part of the city people brought about the change in social distance.

In Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, there is Benedict, a wild sort of fellow with a witty tongue. He

meets Beatrice, a young woman who delights in making cutting remarks. After they meet, distance develops rapidly. She assures him that no one pays any attention to his remarks, and he retorts by asking how is it that she is still in the land of the living. When distance between Benedict and Beatrice becomes its greatest as a result of sarcastic jibes, Benedict's friends devise a plot and lead him to think that Beatrice is actually in love with him. Astounded at first he watches Beatrice, becomes interested, and draws near in secret admiration. In the meantime her friends have devised a similar plot and led her into a similar trap, and she secretly falls in love with Benedict. After great distance has become close nearness in both cases, the double hoax is exposed. Do both Benedict and Beatrice return to their former distance attitudes toward each other? No. The exposure of the two plots comes too late, Benedict and Beatrice have actually been misled into loving each other, and the great distance between the wild Benedict and the saucy Beatrice has been changed into close nearness by the clever plotting of mutual friends. Moreover the secondary plot in *Much Ado About Nothing*, between Claudio and Hero, the lady of his choice, is no less an excellent case study in changes in social nearness to farness and back again to nearness.

The factors which may turn personal nearness into farness usually operate gradually. Occasionally the change is swift, due to some ill-advised act, indicative of ill-advised attitudes. In a dozen lines of poetry Leigh Hunt gives a better description of a sudden destruction of closeness than could be crowded into a dozen pages of ordinary prose. Such a quick change is the theme of "The Glove and the Lions."

King Francis was a hearty king, and loved a royal sport,
And one day, as his lions fought, sat looking at his court.
The nobles filled the benches, with the ladies in their pride,
And 'mongst them sat the Count de Lorge, with one for whom he sighed;
Valor and love, and a king above and the royal beasts below.

She dropped her glove, to prove his love, then looked at him and smiled.
He bowed, and in a moment leaped among the lions wild:
The leap was quick, return was quick, he has regained his place,
Then threw the glove, but not with love, right in the lady's face.
"By Heaven," quoth Francis, "rightly done!" and he rose from where
he sat;
"No love," quoth he, "but vanity, sets love a task like that."

In addition to distances between persons there is personal-group distance. One form is found in the relation of a leader to his followers. Leadership involves vertical distance as distinguished from horizontal. Friendship is horizontal nearness and leadership represents a degree of vertical distance. The aim of friendship, according to Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, is to cut down social distance; while the aim of leadership is to maintain a certain degree of distance. To the extent that you possess abilities that others do not possess, vertical distance exists and leadership is possible.

The vertical distance that denotes leadership has its limits. If the leader gets too far ahead of his followers or holds himself too much aloof from them, they sooner or later cease to recognize him as belonging to them. Even Mussolini and Hitler as dictators appear in spectacular fashion at more or less regular intervals before their respective followers. To maintain his vertical position of recognition a real leader must perform meritoriously from time to time as the representative of his group. A democratic leader keeps from getting too far ahead of his followers by educating or conditioning them toward his position.

The easiest way to maintain a leadership position is to find out what the basic values of a group are and then to act as the defender of these. In this way all who believe in the *status quo* will feel the necessary sense of nearness to enable them to accept you as their leader. However, when you advocate social change, then your nearness relations with all those who believe in things as they are

will be severed, and they will repudiate your leadership.

(Surreptitiously to create social fariness between a leader and his constituents undermines his leadership.) This far-cical but serious procedure will continue until people generally are so educated that they will not be subject to propaganda and fake maneuvering on the part of opponents of needed social change.

In addition to personal distance and personal-group distance, there is distance between social groups. An American business man in Honolulu once said to the writer: "I like the Japanese as individuals very much. I do business with several. Other Americans feel the same way. But in the mass, in large numbers, we Americans don't like them. We fear them." This is a common and yet strange type of reaction. Individual to individual, social nearness; group to group, great distance.

Some employers and employees regard each other highly as individuals, but when each withdraws into his respective group, one into a business man's organization, and the other into a trade or industrial union, great distance at once results. Why? Because group relationships are formal and impersonal. Hence, we may say that (informal and personal relationships), although of course they do not guarantee it, are necessary for the maintenance of social nearness. Anything that promotes informal and personal relationships between employer and employee, other things being equal, helps to promote industrial peace and progress.

How far, may we ask, can group distances be measured? Some yardsticks have already been suggested. Dr. Harvey Zorbaugh of New York University has proposed that the difference in rentals paid by the residents of different sections of a city might be a crude measure of social distance between these urban residents. In the employer-employee field it may be said that the variations

from year to year in the number of strikes and lockouts, including the percentage of workers affected and the length of time involved, constitute significant indices to changes in distance. Would a comparison of the number of lynchings in the South by five-year periods constitute a possible index to racial distance in that region?

Are the incomes of the various social classes in the United States a measure of the social distances between them as classes? To what point must this farness reach before social revolution becomes imminent? The extent of the differences in income between the wealthiest and the poorest classes is a rough measure of the likelihood of revolution, other things being equal. All true patriots who fear revolution and who would protect their country against violence will work to restore social nearness between classes instead of creating more social farness. How can this be done? By lessening the undue social chasm in conditions of work, in living conditions, in incomes between classes, and by creating more wholesome relationships wherever one goes.

Can changes in group distance be measured? Using a social distance scale, Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina found that a group of 182 students of a class in race relations for two months were at the end of the period 7 per cent nearer to the races studied than at the beginning.⁶ In the two-months period the students developed more nearness toward the less educated races than toward the more educated races of the world. It would be interesting to know (1) whether there is a continuance in the development of nearness with further study of races and cultures, (2) at what point nearness ceases to develop as a result of study, and (3) what are lasting qualities in the nearness that is created by study.

The changing marriage rate of the people of one race

⁶ "Racial Distance and Education," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21:128-33.

with the people of another race, that is, the changing intermarriage rate, may be examined as a measure of changes in group distance. The rate of mixed marriages of Jews in Germany from 1901 to 1928 inclusive has been analyzed by U. Z. Engleman of Buffalo.⁷ For the first five-year period the ratio among Jews of mixed racial marriages per hundred of all Jewish marriages was 18. The ratio increased more or less steadily to 54 for the last five-year period, and indicates that the distance between Jews and non-Jews in Germany decreased noticeably from 1901 to 1929. The decrease ceased from 1916 to 1920 but continued again from 1920 to 1929. At the present the intermarriage rate of Jews and Nazis is probably pretty close to the zero point, thus reflecting the great fariness that now exists.

In examining distance between social welfare agencies, another graduate student, Dr. Samuel H. Jameson, found that group distance is greater between social welfare agencies which work within the same field than between those which work in different fields.⁸ The reasons are found in the greater degree of competition and in the rivalry for status.

It was further observed that distance is greater between two new welfare agencies in a given field than between a new welfare agency and an old, established one in that field. The two new agencies are competing against each other, while the new and old are not necessarily in competition.

A graduate student, Miss Forrest Wilkinson, has analyzed the group-distance reactions between 861 students of The University of Southern California toward members of thirty professions and occupations.⁹ The least dis-

⁷ "Intermarriage Among Jews in Germany," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20:34-39.

⁸ "Social Nearness Among Welfare Institutions," *Sociology and Social Research*, 15: 322-33.

⁹ "Social Distance Between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 13: 234-44.

tance was shown by the 861 students toward teachers. Doctors were given second place; third, lawyers; fourth, farmers; fifth, aviators; and sixth, nurses. The farmers rank high in the nearness list because many students come from rural or semirural homes. The greatest distance in order of increasing farness between the 861 students and the members of thirty occupations was as follows: twenty-fifth, spiritual healers; twenty-sixth, roadhouse keepers; twenty-seventh, fortunetellers; twenty-eighth, bootleggers; twenty-ninth, hobos; and thirtieth, and farthest remote, dope sellers. Preachers and movie stars come ninth and tenth, respectively, on the distance scale.

If the data be analyzed in terms of the reactions of the younger students versus the older half of the 861 students, it was found that the younger show more distance toward farmers than do the older. On the other hand, the younger reveal more nearness toward motion-picture stars, dance-hall keepers, jazz musicians than do the older.

How about distance between two professional groups? Dr. Arthur E. Briggs, a former graduate student and a lawyer, asks why lawyers and doctors are at a polar distance from each other while living in a common world. His case analysis shows five reasons.¹⁰ (1) Higher scientific standards for admission to the practice of medicine than to the practice of law; hence doctors consider themselves as occupying a vertically distant relation to lawyers. (2) Doctors as a class are dignified and reserved in manner. They are quiet, thoughtful, and often silent. In the sick room "speech is dangerous." Lawyers, on the other hand, "live their lives in words." "The doctor is incensed by the noisy manner of the lawyer." The lawyer tolerates the "owlish fluff" of the doctor, and the doctor if he speaks uses the appellation of "windbag" in re-

¹⁰ "Social Distance between Lawyers and Doctors," *Sociology and Social Research*, 13: 156-63.

ferring to the lawyer. (3) The doctor has a "kindly demeanor." It is his business to sooth his patients. The lawyer's part "is mandatory, aggressive, disputative." (4) The doctor for the most part "is a lone man," an individualist. The lawyer lives in groups, notably in the business men's groups, whose representative in court he is so often. (5) In his practice the doctor hesitates in passing moral judgments. It is his task to diagnose, offer treatment, watch the progress of the disease, and continue to be scientific. On the other hand, the lawyer lives in a world of legal and business morality. The social distance between lawyers and doctors, concludes Dr. Briggs, is therefore measurable in the social attitudes and values that are "the products of the behavior patterns which distinguish these professions."

Another group distance study refers to the distance relationships of social workers and lawyers. John S. Bradway, formerly of the faculty of law of The University of Southern California, presents four sets of explanatory factors.¹¹ (1) Distance exists between lawyers and social workers because the lawyer relies on rules and precedents to solve his problems, while the social worker works according to the needs of each individual client and is not committed to any precedent or rule of thumb. (2) The lawyer wishing to force an individual to do something takes his case to the court. The social worker uses persuasion, conciliation, and education, and turns to the courts, if ever, only as a last resort. (3) The codes of ethics are different. The lawyer's code is legal and formal and related to precedent. The social worker's is more definitely based on his own conscience and particularly on the changing needs of society. (4) The objectives are different. "The lawyer finishes his case when it is won and judgment is collected." "The social worker may

¹¹ "Social Distance between Lawyers and Social Workers," *Sociology and Social Research*, 14: 516-23.

never finish his client's case." One solves a segment of a problem, the legal segment, and the other tries to solve the entire problem.

To the extent that social distances of all kinds can be measured, we may estimate the amount of potential and real conflict existing at any time anywhere in the industrial, political, racial, religious, and other phases of life. To the degree that social distance soundings can be made from time to time in any sector of life it is possible to determine not only the trend but the extent of the trend toward conflict or toward co-operation in that field. While it will never be possible to reduce human relationships to mathematics or to algebraic formulae, considerable progress in this direction is now being made without doing violence to human personalities. Much progress can be made over the present inadequate methods of the man of the street in measuring social tensions. When a fair degree of accuracy in measuring human relations is possible, then social science can engage reliably in making social predictions. When dependability in making such predictions is realized, then human societies for the first time can exercise intelligent control over themselves.

Races and Culture

JAPAN DEFIES THE WORLD. By JAMES A. B. SCHERER. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938, pp. 311.

The keynote of the book comes out in the opening sentences, namely: "The Japanese people have been betrayed. They have been betrayed by their militarists—a small group within the military—who seized control of the government and ran away with the war machine."

The value of this volume lies in the fact that the author is a prominent scholar and friend of the Japanese people. He was the predecessor of Dr. R. A. Millikan of the California Institute of Technology. He has lived for many years in Japan and has served there as a teacher. He has written much on Japan. He has been decorated by the Emperor's representative (the Order of the Sacred Treasure). He knows whereof he speaks, as only a very few Americans can, with reference to the unfortunate Japanese invasion of China.

Dr. Scherer claims that General Jiro Minami, Governor General of Korea, is the real Mussolini of Japan today, the ablest Fascist there. On the other hand, the author praises the efforts of General J. Masaki whose liberal attitudes have been overruled.

Modern militarism has never been criticized and exposed as Dr. Scherer does it. He minces no words. He speaks directly, so that there is no mistaking his meaning: "The modern world, even in Abyssinia, has known no such injustice, no such disregard of law, no such barbarity and cruelty. The Japanese militarist is in a class apart."

Shotoku of the seventh century is called "the noblest Japanese of all time." Hideyoshi of the latter part of the sixteenth century is described as a Napoleon who conducted a "cruel Korean war," and as dreaming to conquer Asia. General Minami and his "madmen" are grinding down the good people of Japan; they hope to destroy the culture of China and they are defying the democracies of the world in their violation of treaty agreements, according to Dr. Scherer. The author adds strength to his arguments by quoting frequently from Japanese authorities. While the political leaders of Japan are offering apologies, the military leaders are engaged in making new insults to democracy.

The "four big families" or business interests are described as depending on the use of a fetish, namely, emperor worship, to crush the Japanese peasants "with taxes, while the rich become richer through the slaughter of the peasants' sons." These "hard-handed 'captains of in-

dustury' pay starvation feudal wages." They send peasants' sons overseas to be slaughtered not in order to "prepare a place for their fathers and their prostituted sisters, but to make Hideyoshi's dream come true"; for did not Prince Konoye in 1937 make the appalling utterance that China must be "made virtually a vassal state" after she had been "beaten to her knees." If the Japanese people, whom Dr. Scherer calls "a great people," were permitted to read this book understandingly, they would stop the undeclared war on China overnight.

GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK. By GENERAL and MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1937, pp. xi+187.

Dr. J. Leighton Stuart of Yenching University, Peiping, writes the foreword. Two essays of length are written by Madame Chiang Kai-shek on "What China has Faced" and "Sian: a coup d'état." She briefly summarizes some of the phases of the rehabilitation of China that has been going on in recent years. Her role in the Sian kidnaping of her husband is told in a direct, dramatic way. Extracts are given from the Generalissimo's diary that was kept during his two weeks of imprisonment. The Generalissimo's admonition prior to his release, to Chang Hsueh Liang, his captor, is included. Considerable insight is afforded into the workings of the Chinese mind in this account of a strange kidnaping. While the coup d'état effected a uniting of the Nationalist government and the communist forces, the Generalissimo's role appears to have been one of courage and of great loyalty to the new China. Madame Chiang played a no less courageous and loyal role in behalf of the new Chinese state.

E.S.B.

THE POPULATION OF LOUISIANA: ITS COMPOSITION AND CHANGES. By T. LYNN SMITH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, Bulletin No. 293, November, 1937, pp. v+99.

This study is devoted (1) to an analysis of the contemporary structure and composition of the population of Louisiana, and (2) to a description of the changes which have taken place in the last forty years. Space prohibits a review of the many valuable findings set forth by the author except to point out that "The racial make-up of the population is changing rapidly, with the Negroes steadily losing in relative numerical importance."

E.C.McD.

ANTHROPOLOGY. *An Introduction to Primitive Culture.* By ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1937, pp. xix+550.

If *Early Civilization* was a maiden effort by the author, then *Anthropology* may be considered the ripe fruit of his thinking. The new book is a revision of the earlier one, but it turns out to be so much of a revision that the first book is supplanted by one almost entirely new and different. The two books taken in order constitute an interesting study of the ways in which a scholar's thinking and style of expression may change in the course of time and as a result of new experiences. The style has become simplified and the analyses more penetrating. The latter change comes from years of careful study, and the former from public speaking experiences which produce a speaking style that has carried over into writing style.

Primitive culture is described in terms of industry, art, religion, and social organization. The processes of culture and the phenomena of cultural diffusion are central themes. Two interesting diversions are found in the refreshing discussion on methods used today by the anthropologist when he is gathering new materials, and in the author's reflections on John Collier's efforts to save the cultures of the American Indian before they suffer dissolution and disappear. Eighty illustrations and thirty plates add greatly to the value of this *magnum opus*. On the subject of culture diffusion versus independent origins the author in general supports the former, but suggests guiding principles. If the traits are natural, independent origins are likely; if derived, diffusion is probable. The simpler the traits, the greater the probability of independent origins. These generalizations are a fair sample of many equally significant ones that the author makes.

E.S.B.

KNIGHTS OF THE ROAD. By J. L. HYPES. Washington, D.C.: The Daylton Company, 1938, pp. 223.

The author writes a chatty account of a four-months' trip around the world taken by himself and his wife. From England the travelers went to South Africa, then to Australia, Hawaii, southern California, and home by bus to Connecticut. The descriptive accounts of the daily experiences are necessarily sketchy. Longer statements regarding personal observations in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are given, and a chapter is included on "current social problems in America." An informal vividness of what happens to alert tourists is the book's chief characteristic.

A HISTORY OF ARGENTINA. By RICARDO LEVENE. Translated and edited by W. S. Robertson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xii+565.

From the standpoint of political science, politics, and government this volume contains a wealth of data. The details of colonial life in Argentina and of the early years of Argentinian independence are presented with precision. Developments and changes since the turn of the present century are unduly condensed, and yet they are important if one is to understand what is now transpiring in the Argentine. Of the sixty-one chapters, most of which are short, a number are of sociological interest. These deal with topics such as: the aborigines, democratic origins, economic institutions, colonial society, international policy, dictatorship, and national poetry. Two dozen illustrations, including two maps, constitute valuable suggestions concerning the social life of the people. The average North American will be surprised on reading this history at the almost limitless amount of political activity which has taken place in Argentina, a country that the editor calls "the most progressive nation that sprang from the ruins of the Spanish Colonial "Filipinism."

E.S.B.

THE PHILIPPINES, A Nation in the Making. By FELIX M. KEESING. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1937, pp. x+137.

Intended primarily for use in senior high schools, in women's clubs, and by the general public, this brief history of the Philippines will serve a useful purpose. Too many Americans are woefully uninformed concerning this new Commonwealth in the Pacific. The author is well-informed. He conveys his information in simple language. He draws broad, general lines, but because of space limitations is unable to give his readers the thorough pictures and the penetrating analyses of Philippine life of which he is capable. The average American, however, who will read this brief history, would not look at a thoroughgoing and extended treatment. After describing the early life of the Filipino peoples, the author presents their experiences under Spanish rule, and their expansion under American control. A half dozen sketch maps and two dozen illustrations are informative and help the reader to understand the Filipinos. The concluding chapter indicates a few of the trends of nation building now taking place and reveals the rise of Empire."

E.S.B.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN THE PHILIPPINES. By TRINIDAD A. ROJO. New York and Manila: Philippine Research Bureau, 1937, pp. 64.

In a dignified and scholarly manner the author, under the supervision of an editorial committee of six members, including Henry Pratt Fairchild and Edward Sapir, reviews the language situation in the Philippines. He emphasizes the present handicap of the Islands in not having a common language. He shows the need for such a common vehicle if the Philippines are to become a well-organized commonwealth and republic. He does not believe that English will become the needed language. Less than 100 of the 28,000 teachers operating under the Board of Education are Americans. The native teachers do not speak English well and hence are unable to teach it to the children satisfactorily. Many educated Filipinos have great difficulty in mastering English. The author argues for Tagalog. This language is already spoken by two million Filipinos but there are twelve million or more who would need to learn it. Moreover, the representatives of the Visayan languages, spoken by five millions, and of the Ilocanos (a million or more) will not readily accede to making Tagalog the national language. Another difficulty is that Tagalog, like the other native tongues, has no scientific vocabulary, but of course one could be added in due course of time. Plans are suggested for inaugurating an educational process looking toward the development of a national language for the Philippines, but the obstacles are many. The need is genuine and the proposed plans are deserving of careful study.

E.S.B.

EDUCATION OF NEGROES: A 5-YEAR BIBLIOGRAPHY 1931-1935. By AMBROSE CALIVER and ETHEL G. GREENE. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. 63. (U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education. Bulletin, 1937, No. 8.)

In an effort to answer the many requests for information and references concerning the education of the Negroes, the authors have prepared this splendidly annotated bibliography. Some of the major classifications were general references, elementary education, secondary education, higher education, vocational education and guidance, and adult education.

E.C.McD.

THE ARMENIANS IN MASSACHUSETTS. American Guide Series. Written and compiled by the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Massachusetts. Boston: The American Historical Society, 1937, pp. 18.

Here we have a study of a minority group which is quickly becoming assimilated into Uncle Sam's great family of nations. It is a welcome bit of research which should start many sociologists to take an interest in a rapidly vanishing set of folkways and mores.

The work itself cannot be highly praised for any profound scholarship. It can, however, be the source of a number of doctoral dissertation topics for students of sociology seeking an unexplored field.

Some 20,000 Armenians, during the last fifty years, were driven by circumstances, numerous and peculiar in immigration history, to settle in the state of Massachusetts. The accompanying cultural and social-psychological factors would be most interesting to place under the sociological microscope.

The Works Progress Administration and the Armenian Historical Society of Boston should be highly praised for (1) giving to the layman such an interesting picture of a unique racial group, and (2) publishing a document so teeming with suggestions for the social research student.

D.H.D.

LIVING CONDITIONS AND POPULATION MIGRATION IN FOUR APPALACHIAN COUNTIES. By L. S. DODSON. Washington, D.C.: Social Research Report, No. 3, October, 1937, pp. 152.

This report is one of a series of investigations that was conducted by the Farm Security Administration with the co-operation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The following four counties were studied: Avery County, North Carolina; Haywood County, North Carolina; Magoffin County, Kentucky; and Morgan County, Kentucky. With the exception of the dust-bowl farmers, perhaps no area in the United States has presented so many disadvantages to the farmer as this Appalachian region. One of the conclusions of this study points out that in spite of the depression this region has been able to support a larger percentage of the population in 1935 than ever before. However, on the other hand, "forests and mines have failed, causing dire economic conditions to arise in at least three of the counties."

E.C.McD.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC, 1936. Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Yosemite National Park, California, August 15-29, 1936. Edited by W. L. HOLLAND and KATE L. MITCHELL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 470.

An unusually difficult task of editing has been done well. The reports given at the Yosemite Valley Conference and the accompanying round table discussions have been presented with clarity. The volume constitutes in effect a review of Pacific relations for the triennium, 1933-1936. Conditions in China, Japan, and Eastern Soviet Republics for the given three-year period are reviewed authoritatively. The volume is already assuming historical value.

The conference discussions centered extensively on diplomatic policies (and their economic backgrounds) of the United States, China, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. Attention is given to "the changing balance of political forces in the Pacific and the possibilities of peaceful adjustment." Six "documents" of a research nature are included. These deal with trade rivalry between the United States and Japan, the industrial development of Japan, the economic development of the Soviet Far East, the communist situation in China, and the operation of Pacific diplomatic machinery. The isolationist policy of the United States is placed over against collective security needs. Hope is held out chiefly in the direction of building collective security and of securing peaceful change.

E.S.B.

MENSCHEN DER SUDSEE. By HILDE THURNWALD. Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke, 1937, pp. 201.

It is a pity that this book has not yet appeared in English translation. It is something different, in fact something entirely new. Dr. Richard Thurnwald, husband of the author, was the first white man ever to enter Buin—twenty-five years ago. Several scientific books were the result.

This book, by Mrs. Hilde Thurnwald, who accompanied her husband on his recent trip, made possible by the Australian National Research Council, Sydney, contains sixteen stories of various inhabitants of this district. It is not a scientifically written dissertation but represents a projection, a new method of plastic description. Before our eyes appears, as on a screen, picture after picture of these people of the jungle. Yet these pictures are alive. They show us men, women, and children as they really are. They are described with such vividness,

with such power of observation and charm, they appear so much alive and natural, as only a woman's beautiful and sensitive intuition can depict them.

While reading this book one seems to be in the very midst of these people, living their lives with them. How different from one another they are and how human! Scenes are described that bring out the innermost characteristics, displaying in acts and words that eternal battle of the human being against nature and environment; everyday life with its little and big worries; progressive thought of the younger, conservatism of the older generation—a constant visible fight between the forces of modern civilization and tradition, and a violent, invisible struggle between the Demons of the past and Christianity—one lives through them all!

In the frame of the jungle appears, in all its longing, beauty, ugliness, and passion, the living picture of *Der Mensch*—The Human Being.

K.B.z.L.

Social Education

MOTION PICTURES IN EDUCATION. Compiled by EDGAR DALE and Others. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1937, pp. 472.

This is a valuable reference book for those interested in visual education. A complete summary of the books, pamphlets, mimeographed reports, monographs, and magazine articles which have been written in the past upon the subject is presented as a ready aid for the student of visual education. The compilers have sought to organize and interpret the materials by relating the educative process to the motion picture. With this in view, the materials have been placed under six headings, namely, the administration of visual aids, teaching with the motion picture and other visual aids, selecting instructional materials, film production in schools, experimental research in instructional films, and teacher preparation in visual education. Digests of the most significant and important books and articles written in these six fields have been made, thus affording a time-saving device for the research student. The project has been carefully supervised and the resultant compilation of materials has made for a volume of considerable value.

M.J.V.

HOW TO TEACH. By CLAUDE C. CRAWFORD. Los Angeles: Southern California School Book Depository, 1938, pp. 511.

THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION. By CLAUDE C. CRAWFORD, LOUIS P. THORPE, and FAY ADAMS. Los Angeles: Southern California School Book Depository, 1938, pp. 239.

Designed for upper grade and secondary teachers, *How to Teach* runs the gamut from "Getting a Teaching Position" to "Winning Professional Advancement." The total group of twenty-seven chapters deal concretely with as many different sets of problems that face the teacher when engaged in classroom activities. Among the specific themes which are analyzed the following are especially significant: developing teacher-pupil harmony, controlling pupil behavior, motivating school work, improving study habits, planning lessons, problem teaching, developing convictions, appreciation teaching, asking questions, concrete teaching, laboratory teaching, project teaching, and making individual adaptations. Each of the topics is treated in a modern and progressive style. Each is introduced with a group of important classroom activities that will prove to be of outstanding value. These suggestions deserve to be put in type larger, rather than smaller, than the type used in the regular context. The style of the main discussions is snappy and moves along from point to point. Distinctive thoughts are put in crisp sentences that succinctly sum up a page or more. Selected readings are given at the end of each chapter. Interesting asides appear in parentheses from time to time.

In *The Problems of Education*, three educators have combined the products of their experiences and developed a unique treatise. Fourteen large-scale problems of education are presented. These deal with the public school as an institution, with the learning and teaching processes, and with the community and social framework of the school. Each of the fourteen major units is broken up into subunits, or specific problems in education, totaling 207. One page is devoted to each of the 207, and a uniform pattern is followed. After the problem is stated, the major issues involved are presented in question form. A group of five activities is then offered. Readings are recommended in each instance from the *Education Index*, *Educational Abstracts*, periodicals, and books. Here analysis and organization are carried out in a remarkably useful way. Many of the proposed activities are invaluable in stimulating future teachers to acquire a practical background for their daily activities. The materials on community relations, social life of the school, and social

philosophy might well be expanded so as to show the role of the school in terms of primary and secondary groups and of community organization. The fundamental part played by culture patterns in education is important enough to justify further attention. The whole subject of attitudes and values, their origins, and how they are conditioned also deserves treatment. An international outlook and an emphasis on a constructive peace system are so vital today that every public school youth needs to be considering them in some enlightened way. Personality traits of both teacher and pupil and the democratic process that is the essence of teaching also are fundamental. This book sets a pattern and shows how questions and activities may be applied to any pertinent theme the teacher wishes to include in his lesson plans and teaching program. Its strength is in its analytical, interrogative, activity techniques.

E.S.B.

TEACHING THE SOCIAL STUDIES ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL. By T. H. SCHUTTE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938, ix+583.

Embodied in this book the reader will find not only an excellent exposition of contemporary teaching methods which can be utilized in the high school social studies classroom but also a splendid description of educational principles and philosophy. In order to provide an adequate background for the student, the author defines and describes the subject matter of the following fields: philosophy, history, political science, economics or political economy, geography, ethics, and sociology. He points out that sociology does well to attempt the task of bringing together, "evaluating, interpreting, and disseminating in a practical way the most vital findings and results" of the social sciences.

Doctor Schutte devotes several chapters to a critical but interesting discussion of issues, aims, and functions of the social studies as they are related to the general secondary program. Probably the strongest section in this text relates to instructional technique. He doubts whether the average secondary school teacher has sufficient mastery of the social studies to warrant dispensing with the textbook procedure; hence the textbook should provide the matrix around which additional materials and methods might be used to profitable advantage. Another valuable chapter which should be read with personal interest by all high school and college instructors takes up the problem of testing and examining. A well-balanced and scholarly presentation of the important teaching methods for the social sciences is an attribute of this outstanding volume.

E.C.McD.

YOUTH EDUCATION TODAY. Sixteenth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators (a Department of the National Education Association of the United States), Washington, D.C., 1938, pp. 509.

While this volume was prepared primarily for school administrators, it should be in the library of every teacher and sociologist. An unusual and perhaps unexcelled presentation of the contemporary problems of the young person is set forth in this study. Some of the vital questions are: (1) the status of youth today, (2) a dynamic life-centered curriculum, (3) personal relationships, (4) creative citizenship, (5) education for leisure, (6) adjustment and guidance of youth, (7) developing effective leadership, (8) youth organization, and (9) unifying the agencies influencing youth.

Unquestionably, to the average youth the economic problem is paramount and in many cases insurmountable. A large percentage of the unemployed youth of America has never had the opportunity to work. For instance, "Of the 390,000 unemployed young people in New York City, 140,000 had never had a job."

E.C.McD.

Social Welfare

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

The Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant to the American Association of Schools of Social Work for a three-year study of the present curricula and plans of schools of social work and changes required for meeting the new demands for trained personnel in the state and federal Social Security programs. The study will be directed by the Executive Committee of the Association which consists of Wilbur I. Newstetter, Western Reserve University, President of the Association and Chairman of the Executive Committee; Marion Hathway, University of Pittsburgh, Secretary-Treasurer; Arlien Johnson, University of Washington; Margaret Leal, New York School of Social Work; Alice Leahy Shea, University of Minnesota; R. Clyde White, University of Chicago; and Elizabeth Wisner, Tulane University of Louisiana. Among other things it is expected that consideration of both preprofessional and professional curricula for social service fields will be considered. Effective June 1, Miss Hathaway will become full-time Executive Secretary of the Association.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY. By ERNEST R. GROVES. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, Fourth Edition, pp. x+500.

The fact that this book has reached the fourth edition since its first publication in 1934 is testimony to its merits. Neatly printed, it presents an inviting appearance. Its four parts, historical, current developments, problems of the family, and family conservation, have proved highly satisfactory. The direct style has won favor. The point of view, which is forward-looking, alert to new social changes affecting the family, sociological, has proved widely acceptable. The author's long experience in discussing problems of marriage and the family with college students has enabled him to keep his feet on the ground while dealing with questions of an intimate family nature.

NEW LIGHT ON DELINQUENCY AND ITS TREATMENT.
By WILLIAM HEALY and AUGUSTA BRONNER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, pp. vii+226.

When some ten years ago Stuart Rice made a study of the "Contagious Bias in the Interview," (*American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1929), he had made a lasting contribution to social science and social work. Viewing *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* in the light of Stuart Rice's sound logic, there is little wonder that psychiatrists almost invariably find that delinquency is rooted and originates almost exclusively in "emotional disturbances," "instability," "marked feelings of inferiority," "deep set internal emotional conflicts," "unconscious feelings of guilt," and a host of other "inner" factors. The authors did not attempt to study or to relate delinquency, emotional disturbances, inner conflicts to community disorganization, the economic disorder, the variety of conflicting social codes, the lack of satisfactory social institutional setups, and the entire cultural pattern in transition in which these delinquents vitally live. Neither do the authors recognize the fact that although the control group of siblings which they studied was taken from the same physical environment, the social milieu for the delinquents and nondelinquents may differ greatly.

In an exhaustive study made by the reviewer of a highly homogeneous group of delinquents and their nondelinquent brothers (see *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, pp. 198-216), it was found that the latter did not suffer from emotional disturbances, inner conflicts, instability, deviant attitudes because they had become—since early childhood and essentially through chance—identified with wholesome groups, institutions, interests, associates; while their delinquent brothers—also essen-

tially by chance—had learned a great variety of incompatible social codes and were absorbed in interests which caused conflicts in the home, in the community, in themselves. The psychiatric and psychometric reports made by a psychiatrist and psychometrist showed little personal differentiation between the delinquent and the control groups.

We do not mean to deny that the psychiatrist is correct when he studies emotional disturbances and inner conflicts in the delinquent and in his home, but we do mean to indicate that in doing so he is merely concerned with symptoms and not with the more significant and far more deeply underlying causal factors which are significantly related to the cultural pattern and the social world which surrounds the delinquent and to a large extent shapes his conflicts and emotional disturbances. The psychiatrist is correct as far as he goes. Unfortunately he does not go far enough into the world in which the person lives.

Newer lights on delinquency had been discovered by the sociologists a long time ago, notably by Clifford Shaw, W. I. Thomas, Margaret Mead, E. W. Burgess, F. M. Thrasher, and many others, when they stressed the relationship between deviant behavior and social and cultural conflicts and disorganization. Within the last year Dr. James Plant, a noted psychiatrist, has introduced the cultural approach to delinquency through his publication *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*. There is little doubt but what he has blazed the trail for a new approach by the psychiatrist.

It will be of interest to learn the results of the social adjustment made by the cases described in *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* if and when the Gluecks should undertake to follow up the careers of these cases.

P.V.Y.

THE SOCIAL WORLD AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. By JAMES A. QUINN. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938, pp. xxii+992.

This book has an interesting, logical, and composite history. It originated with a survey made by members of the Department of Sociology of Ohio State University. The Ohio Sociological Society became deeply concerned, and Professor Quinn of the University of Cincinnati was selected to prepare a suitable text for high school use. The product represents an extensive degree of collaboration and sharing of ideas. Objectives were set up which included basic emphasis on social relations, on a balanced, well-rounded view of life, on the social role of culture, on perspective in cultural evolution, and on concepts in sociology. These

are excellent goals which the author has satisfactorily achieved. The book will meet with general approbation from the sociologist. The use of boldface and capital type headings is especially effective. The headings are well chosen and the descriptive and interpretive materials that follow each heading are well expressed. From the high school student's and teacher's viewpoints, however, a number of questions may be raised. The exercises and activities probably need to be further developed. Since the treatment does not start from the standpoint and daily experiences of high school youth, the average student of high school age may have difficulty in developing and in maintaining an interest in a number of the subjects. Photographic illustrations are missing, but the absence is partly offset by a number of charts. To meet the possible criticism that the book is too voluminous the publishers have printed a two-volume edition with the thought that the teacher could choose one or the other. The success of the book will depend on the versatility and resourcefulness of the teacher in the use of teaching techniques and activities.

E.S.B.

HANDICRAFTS OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS. By ALLEN H. EATON. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937, pp. 370.

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands is a study made by Allen H. Eaton for the Russell Sage Foundation, of the handicrafts found particularly in the Southern Appalachian Mountains, their historical background and their present-day revival. Included is a section dealing with the subject of handicrafts as possibility for adult education and the future of handicrafts in the mountain areas. The book is beautifully illustrated with one hundred and twelve full-page illustrations, eight of them in color. Among these are fifty-eight photographs taken by Doris Ulmaun especially for the Russell Sage Foundation. They are colorful and authentic studies of the native people of Virginia and Kentucky, making the book a real work of art.

The author attempts to point out two compensations which man can receive from the practice of handicrafts. The first, opportunity for self-expression, was well expressed by an old-time weaver who, when presented with a new coverlet design, said, "I'm rarin' to string up the loom and work it out. Ain't it wonderful what things there is to see and do?" The second compensation suggested is the ability to find beauty in every-day life. This interesting volume will help to give its readers a new appreciation of the handicraft movement in the rural life of America.

H.H.P.

INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN CASE WORK. Washington, D.C.: American Red Cross, 1938, pp. 154.

In this revision of a document which first appeared in 1933, many changes have been made in line with the new developments in the welfare activities of the Red Cross chapters. The document is intended "primarily as a text book and guide for class work and group study." Perhaps it will prove most useful in the training of volunteer case workers. Many sources of information regarding the family are suggested. Methods of interviewing receive brief attention. Case work treatment is discussed in detail. An emphasis is placed on case recording, and some space is accorded special types of case work. Several "cases" are given and interpreted. These are the most important phases of the manual. It would have been more convenient if each case and its interpretation had been kept together instead of being separated with the "case" being given at the end of the book. The point of view regarding case work and case work processes is up-to-date, and the style is clear and succinct.

E.S.B.

Social Psychology

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF EDUCATION. By A. O. BOWDEN and IRVING R. MELBO. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 15+296.

The subtitle of this book is "Applications of Social Psychology to Educational Problems." Dr. Bowden has had much experience in higher education as an administrator of teacher training, and is professor of anthropology and education at The University of Southern California. Dr. Melbo holds the degree of Doctor of Education, and is in the public schools of Oakland, California. It is thus apparent that we are here in an area of thought where four fields meet; namely, psychology, social psychology, social anthropology, and education.

The authors hold that "all the psychology which is purely individualistic in its treatment is that which deals with perceptions and sensations gained from sense impressions, material from the outside world." They argue that "all ideas, ideals, concepts, prejudices, and hates are activities aided or entirely furnished by social interactions and are therefore par-

tially, if not wholly, products of society. . . . [hence] psychology for the most part is social psychology" and "learning is largely a social product."

They define education as "the acquired qualities of the human mind which are the product of conscious emotivated effort on the part of the one educated." Their own special meaning for the coined term, "emotivation," is "not only that it establishes a motive for conduct, but creates a desire to act in accordance with the motive."

While they are very clearly convinced that education and schools, not excepting the classroom recitation, are all essentially socializing through a number of "social processes," they are not so sure as to the ultimate aim of the educational process itself. In fact, they frankly say, "although many attempts have been made, no one in America has yet been able to state precisely what the aims of all our educational procedure should be."

At the same time the book makes a vigorous attempt to set out the various social processes at work in schools, whether we know why we have schools or not. And despite their disclaimers quoted above, the authors distinctly declare that "the general social function of all education is to bring about some kind of desired change in behavior, culminating usually in a modification of conduct which better enables society to preserve its own existence."

After an opening chapter on "Viewpoints," the discussion considers, under separate chapters, the recitation, attitudes and values, and personality. In this portion these essentially sociological concepts are defined and illustrated, with references to well-known sociological writings. Then the argument takes up school problems such as school and classroom control and factors in administrative control. In so doing a consistent attempt is made to apply the previously defined concepts to the actual school situations, and along with those from sociology are found applications of such general psychological principles as repression and sublimation, idealization, sensualization, social generalization, inhibition, and rationalization.

In the last third of the volume, the authors consider the relation of the schools to the larger community, and discuss the social processes involved. This leads to a chapter on rumor, gossip, innuendo, and propaganda. After some wrestling, they adopt a definition of propaganda which is in line with the most satisfactory formula thus far worked out in sociology, emphasizing its veiled and insidious character as the one feature which distinguishes it from education itself. In so doing they differentiate aspects which they propose to call "direct" and "indirect" propaganda.

Propaganda leads naturally to a consideration of public opinion, which is treated in relation to school administration in its larger aspects. After an illuminating chapter showing "Why Teachers Fail," the book closes with some general reflections on polarity and balance, especially in the field of education.

The discussions and end references of the several chapters show wide reading in the fields involved; there are many passages that reveal a soundly common-sense philosophy based upon practical experience; and the whole is written in a simple, lucid, and easy-moving style.

C.M.C.

THE BIOLOGY OF HUMAN CONFLICT. An Anatomy of Behavior, Individual and Social. By TRIGANT BURROW. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. xl+435.

Only through a study of the whole organismic reaction to the social situation, thinks Dr. Burrow, may we come to know the nature of human behavior. His study indicates that a biologic inquiry, an inquiry which has for its objective the study of looking mentally within the organism for clues, is essential. Basically important is the "preconscious" which "represents a non-libidinal, a pre-objective phase in the organism's development." And to quote again: "Many subjective experiences occurring in the individual's later adult life-experiences marked by an absence of the competitive and the contentious, indicate their close relationship to their primary, preconscious mode." The investigations which are disclosed in the book were based upon the author's studies of the behavior of associates as well as of himself during the period of research.

The findings as reported by him yield some of the following indications: (1) disorders of behavior are but the expression of a condition universal to man; (2) the outer signs of disorders, observed objectively as neuroses and psychoses and the like, represent any variable and secondary symptoms of a deeper-seated, more basic disorder affecting the physiological processes of man as a race; (3) the real disturbance in the co-ordination in man's behavior of which we see the outer symptoms is due to an organismic disturbance perceptible only within him; and (4) this perceptibility is recognized only through employing a nonmental method of observing the nonmental condition within. The book is not easy reading material, but its subject matter is highly important and significant for an understanding of individual behavior in the total situation.

M.J.V.

PERSONALITY. A Psychological Interpretation. By GORDON W. ALLPORT. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937, pp. xiv+588.

The author lives up to his "many-sidedness" aim in presenting his psychological ideas concerning personality. The psychological approach has been presented in a thorough way. The materials are well selected and lucidly treated. The major divisions deal with the development and the structure of personality, and with analyzing and understanding personality.

The "approach" is well illustrated by the definitions of personality and temperament at which the author arrives. Personality is expressed as the individual's "mode of adjustment or survival that results from the interaction of his organic cravings (segmental drives) with an environment both friendly and hostile to these cravings, through the intermediation of a plastic and modifiable central nervous system." Temperament includes "the characteristic phenomena of an individual's emotional nature," such as "his susceptibility to emotional stimulation, his customary strength and speed of response," the quality and "peculiarities of fluctuation and intensity" of his prevailing mood. Temperament is "largely hereditary in origin." Probably the psychological studies that have been made of personality require that an analytical viewpoint be given priority over a synthetic one. Moreover, a psychological analysis could not be expected to include a consideration of the ways in which personality is the product of social situations or of the fundamental connections between personality and culture traits and complexes. The basic role of social status in making personality is also left by the author to other writers. On the whole, a long and exceedingly useful life may be safely predicted for this meaty and reliable volume.

E.S.B.

THE RIDDLE OF NAPOLEON. By RAOUL BRICE, Surgeon Lieutenant-General, French Army. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937, pp. x+317.

This book is of interest to sociologists because the major portion of the work deals with (1) the factors that moulded the personality, and (2) the family and other social influences that affected the remarkable career of this genius.

H.K.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. An Introduction to the Study of Personality and the Environment. By JAMES M. REINHARDT. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938, pp. ix+467.

The subtitle carries a fairly accurate description of the contents of this book. The author has combed the literature that contributes to an understanding of personality and has brought a wide range of materials together in his own original way. The scope of this "Introduction" to personality study is indicated by the following topics: biological inheritance, acquired organic factors, evidences from the studies of twins, culture and personality, race and personality, occupation and personality, class distinctions and personality, adjustments and insecurity of personality. In the concluding chapter on "The Paradox of Human Nature," the author points to man's complex and plastic nature as containing the secret both of his adjustments and of his "imponderable blunders." The "paradox" comes from the fact that during the early years of life a child is so conditioned by his environment that he is no longer able to make those free adjustments which he needs to make and which his inherited nature would normally effect. His external environment becomes a "subjective environment" that hinders or prevents him from seeing his own inadequacies. "Thus, over and over again, man's original potentiality for acquiring wide adjustment is prevented from developing by habits of thought and feeling that dominate the group's behavior." This comprehensive psychological study of personality is well supported by an attractive piece of printing and binding. The author's concept of social psychology is largely that of the study of personality. This position he consistently maintains throughout the book.

E.S.B.

Magazine Notes

LUMINAR. Revista de Orientación Dinámica. Vol. I, No. 4, 1937, pp. 124. (México, D.F., Mexico.)

This magazine for orientation is impressive. Victoriano D. Baez in "The Revolution in Progress" emphasizes the revolution of progress, not war. Adolf Keller says the "Influence of the Revolutions in the Religious Life" demands a return to the original message of Jesus. "The

Philosophy of Borden P. Bowne," critic, idealist, deist, moralist, is treated by Andrés Osuna. André Siegfried analyzes Catholicism and Protestantism as "The Principal Currents of Religious Thought in France." In "The Transcendent Destiny of America" Antenor Orrego urges a recognition of America's true past and future. Nicolás Berdiaeff writes "Fanaticism, Orthodoxy and Truth," and A. Travares, Jr. "The Sanctification of Thought." William Stern traces "The Personalistic Tendency in Psychology" toward the interpretation of experience and the adequate recognition of vitality and introception.

A.I.B.

UNIVERSIDAD DE PANAMA. Edición bajo los auspicios del Centro de Investigaciones Sociales y Economicas de la Universidad, Vol. X, November, 1937, pp. 136. (Panama, R. de P.)

This issue is dedicated to Panama's new research institute. The articles illustrate the institute's objective of studying challenging problems. The distribution of wealth as "The Basic Problem of Modern Economics" is treated by Dr. Fritz Marbach. Ludwig von Mises shows the relationship between the "Monetary System and Economic Depressions." Richard Behrendt challenges economic planning in "Some Problems of Planned Economics." Dr. Carlos Merz writes on "Some Aspects of the Fiscal and Economic Crisis of Costa Rica." "Aspects of the National Economy of Panama," by Ernesto Méndez, proposes telic procedure. Dr. Werner Bohnstedt makes recommendations in "Some Aspects of a Future Social Service in Panama."

A.I.B.

SERVICIO SOCIAL. Organo de la Escuela de Servicio Social de la Junta de Beneficencia de Santiago. Vol. XI, No. 3, 1937, pp. 61. (Santiago, Chile.)

Evidence of Chile's progress in social work is abundantly given. Adelina Zegarra describes in "Maternal Social Service in the Law 4054" the establishment of pioneer clinics for the care and industrial protection of mothers. Organization, procedure, and actual case work are depicted. Juana Aguiló G. writes "The Present Social Service of the Hospitals," outlining professional and general defects to be overcome. "Rural Social Service," by Bertha Cereceda de López, deals with the habilitation of rural Chile.

A.I.B.

Social Drama

SUSAN AND GOD. A play in three acts. By RACHEL CROTHERS.
New York: Random House, 1937, pp. 165.

Delightful and full of the brilliance of sparkling comedy, *Susan and God* promises for both reader and spectator an opportunity for real, solid enjoyment. Miss Crothers with a swift and sure pen has sketched most deftly several days in the lives of an idle family, composed of Susan Trexel, her husband Barrie, and their young daughter Blossom. Susan, the central character, is one of the shallowest of women with a rare tongue for gossip and, at the moment when caught by the dramatist, pursuing with intense vigor a new confessional religion. Her daughter Blossom, plain, awkward, and too plump, has been kept at school most of her life by Susan, who probably cannot think of herself as a mother, let alone as the mother of a girl who has turned out to be an ugly duckling. And poor Blossom is longing for the tender care of both a mother and a father. Barrie, the husband, longing too for wifely care, has found a substitute in spirituous liquors.

The plot of this high comedy revolves around Susan and displays her in search of relief from boredom and a meaningless existence, first grasping at Lady Wigham's new religion, which requires that everyone first shall look within and confess the weaknesses found. Then, Susan becomes thoroughly convinced that she is a successful practitioner and crusader. Knowing her friends' lives as intimately as she does, Susan with a high hand attempts to interfere with all of them. Quite unexpectedly, her husband Barrie returns and finds Susan in the midst of her attempted reforms. After listening to her, he becomes infected with the desire to redeem himself and declares to his much surprised wife that he is seeing her for the first time with star-dust in her hair. Susan somehow or other has never thought about a personal application of her new thought in her own household and so, quite against her will, she is forced to give Barrie the chance. In the end her family is united and Susan gives up her proposed lecture crusade in favor of her own home and caring for Blossom, whom she begins to transform into a lovely little creature.

Miss Crothers does not poke fun at the new religious ideas, but shows that sometimes the wrong people may get hold of them. Susan is silly and foolish and yet, after all, she awakens to find that her thoughts so glibly expressed as to reveal her hypocrisy have a way of sustaining

themselves for her own need. Indeed, her closing words in the play are revelatory of something deep down in Susan that she probably never suspected. She is telling Barrie:

Oh, dearest—I don't think God is something out there—to pray to. . . . I think He's here—in us. And I don't believe He helps one bit—till we dig and dig and dig—to get the rottenness out of us. . . . Oh, dear God, don't let me fall down again.

Susan and God is essentially worth-while, valuable for the glimpses that it gives into the lives of a set of fatuous people, and valuable for the moral that it suggests—that human service and good will are after all the test of good religious motivation.

M.J.V.